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Committee on Un-American Activities

House

87th Congress

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COMMUNIST OUTLETS FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF
SOVIET PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES
PART 1

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-SEVENTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

MAY 9, 10, AND 17 AND JULY 12, 1962

INDEX IN PART 2

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WASHINGTON : 1962

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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ALFRED M. NITTLE, *Counsel*

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Part 1 contains the testimony of publishers of Communist propaganda, and of Mrs. Maude Query Kelsey, a librarian and cooperative witness, who had received unsolicited Communist propaganda booklets from the Soviet Embassy.

Part 2 contains the testimony of individuals engaged in the distribution of Communist propaganda.

PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q)(1) Committee on Un-American Activities.
(A) Un-American activities.
(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 87TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 8, January 3, 1961

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

- (r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

- (a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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* * * * *

27. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

The Soviet Union and its international network of Communist and Workers Parties utilize numerous weapons in their unrelenting revolutionary struggle to attain world conquest. One of the principal weapons in their arsenal is the ingenious application, on a tremendous scale, of a variety of propaganda devices.

Stressing the formidable dangers of propaganda as utilized by the world Communist movement, Evron M. Kirkpatrick states in his book, *Target: The World*, that "only in the hands of the Nazi and Communist leaders has propaganda attained first-rate importance as a weapon for achieving national and international political goals."

Dr. Kirkpatrick, executive director of the American Political Science Association, author of books on American government, and former Government official and chairman of the Social Science Division of the University of Minnesota, also wrote in the above-named study:

Modern totalitarianism, of which Communism is the pre-eminent example, has harnessed technology and psychology to persuade, convince, confuse, demoralize, and control. Inside Communist countries propaganda is used to control the ideological environment of the people, to secure obedience, consent, and conformity. Internationally, Communist leaders utilize propaganda to recruit followers, secure sympathy, and to divide and demoralize opposition. Universally, Communists use propaganda in the effort to suggest and insinuate the view of the world most favorable to their temporary plans and policies and to their long-range goals. Aware that loyalty and action alike grow not so much from what happens as from what men think happens, the Communists have developed a huge, diversified propaganda operation at work night and day * * *.

No one can read the history of the Communist movement, or for that matter the history of the world in this century, without being impressed with how crucial the use of the modern means of mass communications, of propaganda, is to Communist tactics. And yet, in spite of the obvious importance of propaganda and propaganda activities to the Communists, in spite of the role these activities have played in the cold war of recent years, there has been very little systematic attention devoted to this propaganda effort.

The Committee on Un-American Activities believes that propaganda directed from Soviet sources constitutes one of the greatest single threats to the security of the United States and the free world. Through this weapon, Khrushchev and other Soviet and national Communist leaders have succeeded in swaying many millions of non-Communists throughout the world, winning their support for Soviet policies and turning them against the programs and policies of the free world.

The worldwide Communist propaganda offensive is largely an insidious slander campaign against the United States. The Soviet propaganda machine consistently characterizes this country as "imperialistic," a "warmonger," and a participant in war crimes. The Communist propaganda effort within this country, implemented primarily through the dissemination of thousands of publications, is designed—by playing on the hopes and fears of the American people—to subvert the United States by undermining its foreign policy and Military Establishment.

The world Communist movement allocates many millions of dollars annually for the publication and distribution of propaganda documents. While the Soviet Union publishes the bulk of this literature, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Poland, and Communist China are also producers of enormous quantities of printed material.

The major source of printed literature emanating from the Soviet Union is the Foreign Languages Publishing House, located in Moscow, which produces material in scores of languages. Another official Soviet agency, Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga—International Book Company, and hereinafter referred to as such—operates as the exporter of propaganda documents to agents located in numerous countries throughout the world. The function of these agent-publishers is to print these documents in the language of the country of which they are residents and/or citizens.

In May and July 1962, the committee held hearings in Washington, D.C., on the publication and distribution within the United States of Communist propaganda material originating in foreign countries. The purpose of the hearings was to develop information which would assist the committee in weighing the merits of amendments to the Internal Security Act and the Foreign Agents Registration Act pertaining to the printing and dissemination of foreign propaganda, and also the administration of existing laws relating to this subject.

As the hearings reflect, the witnesses subpoenaed to testify were publishing, within the United States, translated material supplied to them by the International Book Company or other representatives of the Soviet Government, or were engaged in the importation of Communist propaganda material already published in the Soviet Union, chiefly in the English and Russian languages.

A number of companies engaged in such activity are located in New York City. Under the ownership of Myron Emanuel Sharpe, they are known by the trade names of International Arts and Sciences Press, Bookfield House, Inc., Tradeworld, Inc., and Crosscurrents Press, Inc. Evidence obtained during the committee's investigation related primarily to Crosscurrents Press, Inc., and International Arts and Sciences Press.

Myron Emanuel Sharpe testified during the hearings in response to a subpoena. It was not the first time he had appeared before the committee. A 1954 committee hearing, in which he was also a witness, revealed that Sharpe was then the leader of Communist students on the campus of the University of Michigan and also an official of the Michigan section of the Labor Youth League, a now defunct Communist youth organization. During his appearance before the committee in 1954, Sharpe refused to answer all questions concerning Communist Party membership and activities, invoking the fifth amendment and other constitutional privileges.

During the current hearings, Sharpe again invoked constitutional privilege—the first, fourth, and fifth amendments—in response to all questions concerning present or past membership in the Communist Party and also when interrogated about other matters pertinent to the subjects under inquiry.

Four subpoenas had been served on Sharpe in an attempt to obtain two of his companies' books of account so that the committee could adequately inform itself and the Congress about his propaganda operations and financial or other agreements with representatives of the Soviet Union. He produced for the hearings photocopies of only certain selected pages from his financial records. In doing so, he concealed his sources of income—and admitted this in the course of his testimony, claiming that he would bring harm to his customers if he disclosed their names.

Dissemination reports filed by Sharpe with the Foreign Agents Registration Section of the Department of Justice stated that 10,000 copies of the book, *Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, were delivered to the New Era Book and Subscription Agency, Inc., and another 10,000 to the Four Continent Book Corporation, both of New York City. The owner of the New Era Book and Subscription Agency, however, testified that he had canceled his order and returned his 10,000 copies after being subpoenaed for the hearings and that, had he not done so, he would have been charged only 1¢ each for these 50¢ booklets. Moreover, the owner of the Four Continent Book Corporation informed the committee that he had not received 10,000, but only 185, copies of this booklet from Crosscurrents Press.

Sharpe invoked the fifth amendment in response to all questions asked him concerning his dealings with the New Era Book and Subscription Agency and the Four Continent Book Corporation and also concerning his reported distribution of the 20,000 copies of this book.

Documents produced in the course of the hearings revealed that in 1959 Sharpe had entered into an agreement with representatives of the Soviet Government, whose identities are not known to the committee, to publish English translations of various Soviet documents. Subsequently, under the name of the International Arts and Sciences Press, Sharpe published articles and photographs supplied by the International Book Company and Novosti Press Agency (also of Moscow) for a periodical first called *Soviet Highlights* and now known as *Soviet Review*. He also published in English, under the name of Crosscurrents Press, Inc., the proceedings of Soviet conventions and congresses and the complete texts of certain speeches of Nikita S. Khrushchev and other Soviet officials.

The hearings disclosed that over 740,000 copies of these publications were printed between 1959 and mid-1962 and that the bulk of them was delivered to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C. The press department of the Soviet Embassy then distributed these books throughout the United States by unsolicited bulk mailings. The same publications were also distributed by personnel of the Soviet delegation to the United Nations and at a Soviet Children's Exhibit recently held in this country under the official Cultural Exchange Agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union. Documents introduced in the hearings reveal that the Soviet Government paid Crosscurrents Press, Inc., a sum in excess of \$240,000 for these books.

The U.S. Post Office delivered hundreds of thousands of these propaganda documents to individuals, organizations, and institutions in all parts of the country under less-than-cost mail rates—which means that the American taxpayers were, in part, subsidizing this Soviet propaganda project.

It is also worth noting that the distribution of these documents at the Soviet Children's Exhibit was in violation of the Cultural Exchange Agreement between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. and that the provision barring such distribution was included in the agreement at the insistence of the Soviet Union.

The committee investigation revealed that Sharpe, in carrying out his agreement with the Soviet Union, first published propaganda material under the name of the International Arts and Sciences Press. The magazine *Soviet Highlights* was originally published under the name of this firm, which was not registered with the Department of Justice as the agent of a foreign principal. Sharpe then formed Crosscurrents Press, Inc., registered this firm with the Department of Justice, made it the publisher of *Soviet Highlights*, and published four properly labeled issues of the magazine under the Crosscurrents Press label. He next changed the format and the name of *Soviet Highlights* to *Soviet Review* and started publishing it once more under the name of the International Arts and Sciences Press, without registering it with the Department of Justice.

Joseph Felshin, president of both the New Era Book and Subscription Agency, Inc., and New Century Publishers, Inc., of New York City, was subpoenaed to testify in the hearings and was questioned about the financial arrangements existing between his organizations and Sharpe's Crosscurrents Press, Inc. New Century Publishers, previously cited by the committee as an official Communist Party publishing house, produces the journal *Political Affairs*, a monthly theoretical organ of the Communist Party, USA.

Felshin, as previously indicated, testified that he had received 10,000 copies of Sharpe's publication *Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, but that he had returned all copies of the booklet (after receiving the committee's subpoena). He also testified that Crosscurrents Press had sold the 10,000 booklets to him for only \$100, or 1¢ each. When asked the identity of the individual from whom he had learned he could obtain the booklets for only 1¢ each, Felshin refused to answer, invoking the fifth amendment. He also took refuge behind the fifth amendment when asked about past or present membership in the Communist Party.

Translation World Publishers, another firm engaged in the same type of publishing activity, is located in Chicago and is jointly owned by LeRoy Wolins and David S. Canter. The firm was formed for the purpose of publicizing the admissions made by U-2 pilot Gary F. Powers during his trial in Moscow. In order to expedite the publication of a Soviet-serving report on this case, daily transcripts of the trial were cabled to Translation World Publishers from Moscow at no cost to the firm. *The Trial of the U-2*, its subsequently published account of the case, contained photographs of Powers and pictures of his equipment and demolished plane. These photographs, too, were furnished Translation World Publishers by Soviet sources at no cost.

The publishing firm did not comply with the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act by registering with the Department of Justice until after it had printed and distributed two publications.

The hearings disclosed that Translation World Publishers not only received trial transcripts and photographs pertaining to the Powers case on a gratis basis, but was also the recipient of the sum of \$3,400 from the Soviet Government. According to a registration statement filed under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, Wolins and Canter claimed that \$2,400 of this amount had been advanced to Translation World Publishers for the purchase of copies of a geography book on the U.S.S.R. which they proposed to print but which was never published. An additional advance of \$1,000 was for 1,000 copies of *The Trial of the U-2*.

Both LeRoy Wolins and David S. Canter, co-owners of Translation World Publishers, have been identified as members of the Communist Party. Appearing before the committee, neither Wolins nor Canter would answer any questions propounded to them regarding their past or present membership in the Communist Party. They also invoked the fifth amendment and other constitutional privileges when asked about their activities in connection with the publication of *The Trial of the U-2* and a subsequently published book entitled *The Case Against General Heusinger*.

Records of the committee disclosed that Wolins and Canter failed to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act until after publication of *The Trial of the U-2*. On February 16, 1961, the day they filed as publishers of this book, they also formally terminated their registration. Therefore, when Translation World Publishers subsequently published *The Case Against General Heusinger*, neither Wolins nor Canter was registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Moreover, they were not registered at the time of their appearance before the committee.

In publishing *The Case Against General Heusinger*, Wolins and Canter directly assisted the worldwide Communist campaign to discredit NATO, and particularly the United States and West Germany, by disseminating false charges against General Adolph Heusinger, the then newly appointed chairman of the NATO Permanent Military Committee.

On December 12, 1961, the day General Heusinger's appointment to the NATO post was announced, the Soviet Union delivered a note to the United States demanding the extradition of General Heusinger on the grounds that he was guilty of "crimes against peace, war crimes, and crimes against humanity." Enclosed with the note were 67 documents which purportedly substantiated the Soviet charges.

On the very same date, a State Department official, in referring to the Soviet note and documents, stated at a press conference:

This crude and ludicrous propaganda exercise is unworthy of notice and I have no intention of dignifying it with any comment. I would merely call your attention to the fact that it has become Soviet practice to engage in such propaganda activities on the eve of NATO Ministerial Meetings for the purpose of creating disunity within the alliance and discrediting the alliance.

On October 23, 1961, immediately after the nomination of General Heusinger had been announced, the State Department issued an official release in reply to Communist-instigated criticisms of the

nomination. This three-and-a-half-page statement of fact pointed out, among other things, that:

Thorough investigations by both Allied authorities after the end of World War II as well as by scholarly non-governmental investigators into the events of World War II do not bear out any of the charges now being made against General Heusinger. In fact, after investigations conducted immediately after World War II had cleared Heusinger, he served as consultant to the United States prosecution at the Nuremberg trials. Nonetheless, the Department has carefully reviewed the material sent us by various groups expressing objection to the appointment. On the basis of this review we have concluded that this material consists entirely of either allegations which are not supported by facts or interpretations of facts, often taken entirely out of their real context, which are not warranted.

The record shows that General Heusinger was aware of the plot being conducted by a number of German officers against Hitler over a number of years which culminated in the events of July, 1944. While he was not personally involved in the details of that particular attempt and the actual placing of the bomb, he, as other German officers, was aware of the general outlines of the plot and sympathized with it. This fact became known to the Gestapo. After the attempt failed, General Heusinger was arrested, and interrogated at length in a Gestapo prison. However, the Gestapo was unable to obtain sufficient proof to implicate him in this plot and consequently he was simply dismissed from the active service at that time and spent the remaining ten months of World War II in that status.

A short while after the Soviet note was delivered to the United States, it was revealed that one of the documents submitted in support of the charges against General Heusinger was fraudulent. It was a picture allegedly portraying German troops executing Russian partisans. Actually, however, the Soviet Union had previously used this very same picture to portray alleged Japanese atrocities.

The Wolins-Canter book on Heusinger reproduced 56 of the 67 documents submitted with the Soviet note. It did not include the above-mentioned fraudulent document and nine others which did not pertain specifically to General Heusinger.

Wolins refused to discuss with the committee the reasons for the deletion of certain of the Soviet documents in the publication. He also invoked constitutional privilege when asked about the deletion of one additional document which was signed not by General Heusinger, but by Vinzenz Mueller, creator of the post-World War II East German People's Army.

Wolins and Canter prepared a foreword to *The Case Against General Heusinger* which condemned the United States and its allies for the Heusinger appointment. They did this in spite of the fact that the U.S. Government had exposed the fraudulent nature of the Soviet charges and all 14 governments represented on the NATO Military Committee had unanimously approved Heusinger's appointment after carefully weighing all the facts in the case.

The committee's hearings brought out the fact that an unsolicited general mailing of *The Case Against General Heusinger* was made by Translation World Publishers to members of the Washington press corps. When Wolins was questioned about the identity of the source which financed this mailing, he invoked the fifth amendment. The committee believes that it was unquestionably financed by Soviet sources.

PROPAGANDA RETAIL OUTLETS

In addition to the publishers of Soviet propaganda in the United States, there are certain domestic booksellers and book distributors actively engaged in spreading Soviet Communist literature throughout the country. Some of these booksellers and distributors not only import Soviet propaganda bulletins for retail purposes, but serve as "legal" intelligence agencies of the Soviet Government. An example of this type of operation was disclosed by the committee nearly 15 years ago when it revealed that the Four Continent Book Corporation was purchasing American patents for the Soviet Government for 25¢ each.

The recent committee hearings disclosed that, between the years 1946 and 1960, the Four Continent Book Corporation, located in New York City, had spent nearly a half million dollars annually for the purchase, from American sources, of books, periodicals, and public documents, including patents, for shipment to the Soviet Union. Since 1960, the committee learned, the Soviet Government has divided this operation among several agents. As a result, the sum expended by Four Continent Book Corporation for such purchases (exclusive of patents, which are now officially exchanged) was reduced to only \$35,000 in 1961.

During the period 1946 to 1950, Four Continent Book Corporation also imported from the Soviet Union printed material valued in excess of \$1,000,000. Since 1960, however, the corporation's imports of printed matter from the U.S.S.R. have amounted to only a little over \$110,000.

Allan Markoff, who had become president of the Four Continent Book Corporation in 1948, testified that the firm had made no profits during the 11 years of his presidency.

Despite this fact and the decline in Four Continent Book Corporation's business since 1960, Serge P. Ushakoff, the present owner, testified that he had recently invested \$15,000 in the firm—\$10,000 for 17 shares of stock in the company which his predecessor had purchased for \$8,840 and an additional \$5,000 for the purchase of 8 shares from a third party.

As an employee of the firm, Ushakoff had earned \$75 a week. He testified that, as president of the firm, his salary is \$125 per week. The increase in his weekly take-home pay, represented by these figures, would hardly justify the investment of \$15,000 in a firm which had made no profit throughout its history.

Ushakoff answered all questions asked him by the committee. He denied that he had ever been under the direction of a foreign power. As previously indicated, he also testified, in contradiction to a statement filed with the Department of Justice by Myron Sharpe, that the Four Continent Book Corporation did not receive 10,000 copies of the *Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* published by Crosscurrents Press, Inc.

Allan Markoff testified that he had become president of the Four Continent Book Corporation when he bought 10 shares of the firm's stock from the preceding president, Cyril Lambkin, in 1948. He denied having known at the time of purchase that Lambkin was a member of the Communist Party and had been so identified before this committee in 1947. Markoff's testimony was vague about the circumstances under which, through an intermediary, he sold controlling interest in the corporation to Ushakoff for a profit of \$1,160 in 1960.

The sale of the Four Continent Book Corporation stock to Serge P. Ushakoff in January 1960 ended, for a time, Markoff's role as an agent of a foreign principal. Markoff reregistered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act in January 1962 as an agent for an organization called Raznoiznos, a Bulgarian Government-owned firm engaged in the export of Communist propaganda. Markoff acknowledged that he was currently registered as an agent of a foreign power, but refused to answer any questions concerning the services he rendered for the Communist government of Bulgaria through his principal, Raznoiznos, and refused to even acknowledge to the committee that he was an agent for the Bulgarian Government. He invoked the fifth amendment when questioned concerning his recently formed business enterprise, the FAM Book and Translation Service. Markoff also took refuge behind the fifth amendment when questioned concerning his membership in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. He denied membership in the Communist Party, but refused to say whether he had ever rendered financial assistance to it.

The committee hearings revealed that there is a definite relationship between membership in the Communist Party of the United States and the ownership of bookstores which have contracts with Communist-controlled countries to import and export literature. Three such bookstores which were subjects of the committee's investigation and hearings are owned by persons who have served the cause of world communism by holding leadership positions in the Communist Party of the United States.

Imported Publications and Products, located in New York City, is owned by Mrs. Margaret Cowl. She is the widow of Charles Krumbein, who, prior to his death, was treasurer of the Communist Party. She herself served as a Communist agent in Russia and China in the 1930's. In her appearance before the committee, Mrs. Cowl revealed that she is registered with the Department of Justice as an agent for the International Book Company of the Soviet Union and Guozi Shudian of Communist China. She also testified that during the past 5 years she had shipped bulk literature received from the International Book Company in Moscow to various bookshops in the United States, including the International Bookstore in San Francisco, the Modern Book Store in Chicago, and the Jefferson Book Shop in New York City. Mrs. Cowl also stated that she had operated Imported Publications and Products since 1950. She invoked the fifth amendment when questioned about a statement she had made on a Foreign Agents Registration Act form filed June 4, 1958, to the effect that she was not a member of any nonbusiness organization.

World Books, a newly established firm in New York City, is owned and operated by Philip Frankfeld, former chairman of the Com-

munist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia. Frankfeld was convicted under the Smith Act in 1952 for conspiring to teach and advocate the overthrow of the U.S. Government by force and violence. After his release from prison in 1956, he was employed by the Four Continent Book Corporation and remained with it until 1960, according to the testimony of Markoff and Ushakoff. Frankfeld admitted that he has been a registered agent for the International Book Company of the Soviet Union and Guozi Shudian of Red China. On fifth amendment grounds, he refused to answer any questions concerning membership in the Communist Party.

Global Books, located in Detroit, is owned and operated by Mrs. Helen Allison Winter, wife of Carl Winter, who recently resigned as chairman of the Communist Party of Michigan to avoid prosecution under the Internal Security Act. Mrs. Winter has been a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and, like Frankfeld and her husband, was convicted for violation of the Smith Act. Her conviction, however, was subsequently reversed because of the Supreme Court's decision in the Yates case.

Carl Haessler, chairman-treasurer of Global Books Forum, invoked the first, fifth, and fourteenth amendments when questioned concerning Global Books and certain individuals affiliated with it. He denied ever having been a member of the Communist Party.

Cross World Books and Periodicals of Chicago is co-owned by Alexander Svenchansky and Henry Levy. Svenchansky, in an appearance before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1952, refused to respond to questions concerning his membership in the Communist Party. As a result of this, he was dismissed from employment with the United Nations. With an indemnity payment which he received from the United Nations following his dismissal, Svenchansky was permitted by the Soviet Government to purchase a firm known as Parcels to Russia and since renamed Package Express and Travel Agency.

Gregory Boris Lotsman, manager of Cross World Books and Periodicals, testified that, at the time they took over the firm, Svenchansky and Levy had entered into a contract to pay the International Book Company of Moscow \$71,000 owed it by the previous owner for books in Cross World's possession. Mr. Lotsman expressed the opinion that this stock was not worth \$10,000. Lotsman also testified that this \$71,000 debt had been reduced by Svenchansky and Levy, through installment payments, to approximately \$68,000.

Cross World Books and Periodicals was subsequently extended additional credit of \$25,000 to \$50,000 by the International Book Company, although the Moscow agency had been paid only \$3,000 against its note for \$71,000.

COMMUNIST OUTLETS FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

PART 1

WEDNESDAY, MAY 9, 1962

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:30 a.m., in the Caucus Room, Old House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; and August E. Johansen, of Michigan.

Committee members also present: Representatives Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio, and Henry C. Schadeberg, of Wisconsin.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., director; John C. Walsh, cocounsel, and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will please come to order.

Let the record show that the Honorable Francis E. Walter, chairman of the Committee on Un-American Activities, appointed a subcommittee to conduct these hearings consisting of Representatives William M. Tuck, August E. Johansen, and myself, Edwin E. Willis, as chairman, all of whom are present.

The order of appointment will be set forth in the record at this point:

MAY 8, 1962.

To: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr.

Director

Committee on Un-American Activities

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Honorable Edwin E. Willis as Chairman and Honorable William M. Tuck and Honorable August E. Johansen as associate members, to conduct a hearing in Washington, D.C., Wednesday, May 9, 1962, at 10:30 a.m., on subjects under investigation by the Committee and take such testimony on said day or succeeding days, as it may deem necessary.

Please make this action a matter of Committee record.

If any Member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 8th day of May, 1962.

/sgd./ FRANCIS E. WALTER,
Chairman,
Committee on Un-American Activities.

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Mr. WILLIS. The committee resolution adopted April 9, 1962, authorizing these hearings sufficiently sets forth the subject and legislative purposes.

The resolution will be set forth in the record at this point:

BE IT RESOLVED, that hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities, or a subcommittee thereof, be held in Washington, D.C., or at such other place or places as the Chairman may designate, and at such time or times as the Chairman may determine, relating to the publishing, printing, and distribution of Communist propaganda material that is instigated from foreign countries or is of a domestic origin, the legislative purposes of which are:

1. To strengthen the provisions of Section 10 of the Internal Security Act of 1950 so as to broaden the application of such section to cover persons, firms, associations and corporations engaged in the printing, publishing and dissemination of Soviet propaganda;

2. To assist Congress, through the Committee's legislative oversight duties, in appraising the administration of laws relating to the introduction and dissemination of Communist propaganda within the United States; and

3. To consider and act upon clauses (c) and (d) of Section 312 of Title 3, H.R. 6, introduced by Representative Walter on January 3, 1961, and referred to this Committee as part of H.R. 6, said clauses constituting proposed amendments of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the action of the Chairman in issuing subpoenas for the appearance of MYRON SHARPE, in his individual capacity, and as president of Crosseurrents Press, Inc., be, and the same is hereby ratified and approved.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Committee, or any subcommittee thereof, be authorized to investigate and hear any other matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee which it, or any subcommittee thereof, appointed to conduct these hearings, may designate.

Mr. WILLIS. For over a quarter of a century, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, aided by the Government of the U.S.S.R., Soviet satellite governments, the Cominform and world Communist gatherings, has propagandized the non-Communist world.

The United States has been and is receiving the brunt of this Communist attack through newspapers, books, and magazines, most of which are published in the English language by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow.

Propaganda material is being imported into the United States through unsolicited mailings, addressed abroad, or by bulk to individuals or firms registered as agents of a foreign power. This propaganda campaign is implemented by many publications of the Communist Party of the United States and by Communist-front organizations.

In recent months many complaints have been received both from Members of Congress and American citizens urging investigation of the circumstances under which they are receiving through the mail material which they have not requested.

This material has been described by these citizens as Communist propaganda designed to sell world communism. They have further charged that much of this material is intended to sell Americans on the foreign policy of the Soviet Union on such major international questions as Germany and disarmament.

The committee desires to ascertain whether the printing and publishing of Communist Party propaganda in this country is a Communist device to conceal from the American people the true propaganda character of such material, and also whether it is a device for evading present and contemplated laws and regulations designed to prohibit or make less effective distribution in this country of foreign Communist propaganda.

If the committee, as a result of these hearings, is justified in concluding that the printing and publishing of Communist Party material in this country is such a device, it will endeavor to find some legislative remedy.

Is Myron Sharpe present?

Please come forward, Mr. Sharpe.

Please raise your right hand, sir.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SHARPE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MYRON EMANUEL SHARPE, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, ELEANOR JACKSON PIEL

Mr. WILLIS. Counsel, will you proceed?

Mr. WALSH. What is your name?

Mr. SHARPE. Myron Emanuel Sharpe.

Mr. WALSH. And your present address?

Mr. SHARPE. New York City.

Mr. WALSH. Where in New York City?

Mr. SHARPE. 156 Fifth Avenue.

Mr. WALSH. I notice that you are represented by counsel.

Will counsel please identify herself?

Mrs. PIEL. My name is Eleanor Jackson Piel, and my offices are at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

(At this point Mr. Scherer left the hearing room.)

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, at this juncture I would like to introduce into evidence the certificate of incorporation of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, and have it marked as Sharpe Exhibit No. 1.

Mr. WILLIS. It will be so introduced and marked.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. Pursuant to a subpoena served on the Chemical Bank, New York Trust Company, on the 12th of April, 1962, which called for the photostats of a resolution, certificate of officers and signature card of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, President Myron E. Sharpe, I now introduce in evidence, pursuant to this subpoena, a photostatic copy of agreement and official signatures of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, together with a certificate of officers, and the resolution which states that Mr. Myron Sharpe is the president and that he is the only one that is entitled to sign checks.

I offer this as Sharpe Exhibit No. 2.

Mr. WILLIS. Let it be so marked.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Sharpe, you are here pursuant to a subpoena, are you not?

Mr. SHARPE. That is correct.

Mr. WALSH. And this subpoena called for the production, as president of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, of all books of accounts and/or accounts reflecting all receipts of money by Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City, New York, from September 1, 1959, to date.

Have you produced these records called for in the subpoena which was served on you on April 11, 1962?

Mr. SHARPE. I have a complete record of receipts which I am ready to produce pursuant to the subpoena to me as president of Crosscurrents Press.

Mr. WALSH. May I have them, sir?

(Envelope handed to counsel.)

Mr. WALSH. You also were served, Mr. Sharpe, to produce all books of accounts and records reflecting all receipts of money by Crossworld Press, Incorporated, 33 West 42nd Street, New York, New York, from September 1, 1959, to date.

Have you produced such records?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. There is no such entity.

Mr. WALSH. Had the entity, as you call it, Crossworld Press, Incorporated, ever existed?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. PIEL. As a point of information, counsel. The witness has brought all of the records of his that he kept as Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated.

There is another word in the other subpoena.

Mr. SHARPE. Crossworld. I think it is a typographical mistake. There is no such corporation, at least that I know of.

Mr. WALSH. You did file with the United States Department of Justice on December 9, 1959, a registration statement in which you said the name of the registrant was Crossworld Press, Incorporated.

Is that correct?

Mr. SHARPE. If that is the case, it is a typographical error. It is Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated.

Mr. WALSH. This is a typographical error? There was no such entity in existence at any time as Crossworld Press, Incorporated?

Mr. SHARPE. That is correct.

Mr. WALSH. May this be marked Sharpe Exhibit No. 3, the registration statement, registration No. 1308, of Crossworld Press, Incorporated.

The name of the person in charge of the principal office is Myron E. Sharpe.

Mr. WILLIS. It will be so marked.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WILLIS. Let me understand, counsel, that this is a registration or purported registration under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. By this witness?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. And on behalf of—

Mr. WALSH. Crossworld Press, Incorporated.

Mr. WILLIS. Is there another registration for Crosscurrents, also?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir. That comes later.

Mr. WILLIS. There is only one entity in this document you are now offering in evidence?

Mr. WALSH. Crossworld Press, Incorporated. And the witness has testified that this was a typographical error. It was filed on December 9, 1959.

Mr. JOHANSEN. May the record show what name appears as the title in the registration, which the witness says constitutes the typographical error?

Mr. WALSH. I show you Exhibit No. 3, Mr. Witness, and ask you whether or not that states Crossworld Press, Incorporated?

(Document handed to witness.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. Yes, it says Crossworld Press, Incorporated, which is a typographical error.

Mr. WILLIS. And it was intended to be what?

(Witness conferred with counsel)

Mr. SHARPE. It was intended to be Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated.

Mr. WALSH. Would you outline your occupational background since 1954, Mr. Sharpe?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. On what grounds?

Mr. SHARPE. On the following grounds: First of all, the first amendment, with particular emphasis on the guarantees relating to freedom of the press; secondly, the fourth amendment, which guarantees against illegal search and seizure; and the fifth amendment which defines the areas which may and may not be investigated, and which I have to invoke in order to protect my rights as a citizen.

And finally, on the basis that the investigation tends to go counter to the concept of the exchange of information, freedom of information, which is vital to our democratic traditions.

These are my grounds. If in the future I decline to answer any question, it will be the same grounds.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. Furthermore, that this question is irrelevant to the investigation of the committee.

Mr. WILLIS. So we will avoid repetition, we may proceed along that line if that is your wish. But I will say that as far as this committee is concerned, the only valid objection I can act upon is the invocation of the fifth amendment.

Later on, however, in the course of the examination, if it be decided that you be specific about your objections to a question, we will cross that bridge when we meet it.

As I say, we accept only one ground here. Let us agree that that is the position of the committee.

I did understand that you did invoke the provisions of the fifth amendment without going into detail.

Mr. SHARPE. Right.

Mr. WALSH. On the grounds that the answer you give or may not give would tend to incriminate you; is that correct? That is the fifth amendment.

Mr. SHARPE. I think that I invoke it on the basis as described and written in the Bill of Rights, and it is clear without going into further definition of it.

Mr. WILLIS. There is a fundamental right to invoke the provisions of the fifth amendment. You are throwing in all the Bill of Rights. Let me ask you this question:

Are you apprehensive and do you honestly fear that to answer the question may subject you to criminal prosecution?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. Then I order and direct you to answer it because we do not accept your answer.

I now order and direct you to answer the question because so far as the application or invocation of the fifth amendment is concerned there must be a basis of an honest fear or apprehension that to answer it would subject one to criminal prosecution.

So I now order you to answer the question if you truly and honestly have that fear and apprehension.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. Well, I am invoking—I am declining on the grounds of the fifth amendment, and I believe that I have the right to invoke the ground of the fifth amendment including all of its clauses.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Including the self-incrimination provision of the fifth amendment; is that right?

Mr. SHARPE. I said including all of its clauses so that is included.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Sharpe, are you the same individual who appeared before this committee on May 10, 1954, during hearings in Lansing, Mich., and at that time you were a graduate student of the University of Michigan?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previous grounds.

Mr. WALSH. On the fifth amendment specifically?

Mr. SHARPE. On the basis of the first, fourth, and fifth amendments.

Mr. WALSH. On the ground that to do so would tend to incriminate you; is that correct?

Mr. SHARPE. My previous answer to that question should stand throughout the entire hearing.

Mr. WALSH. Is that the ruling of the Chair, sir?

Mr. WILLIS. I order him to answer the question, so that there will be no dispute about it.

The record will be examined from the point of view of whether it is an honest invocation of the fifth amendment.

I do not want to be repetitious but I now order you to answer the question as a test of your right and honesty in the invocation of the provisions of the fifth amendment.

I now ask you for the last time, do you fear or are you apprehensive that to answer this question may subject you to criminal prosecution?

I do not want it to appear that you have not been properly warned, and that our appreciation of your right to invoke the amendment is based on the grounds I have stated.

You are represented by counsel. You may take the course you want to follow. But for the last time, I ask you are you invoking the protection of the fifth amendment on the ground that you fear that by supplying an answer to the question pending it would subject you to criminal prosecution?

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Chairman, let me comment that unless his answer to the last question propounded is in the affirmative, then, in accordance with what I understand to be the law he is not properly invoking the fifth amendment.

Mr. WILLIS. That is the position, the official position, of the committee.

Mr. SHARPE. If there is any doubt about my previous answer, I repeat that I invoke the fifth amendment in its entirety, with all of its clauses, and I do not feel that a witness is called upon to give an explanation of the law.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed, with the conditions stated.

Mr. WALSH. In 1950, you applied for and received a United States passport which you used to participate in the Communists' Third World Youth Festival. Is that correct, sir?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WALSH. Have you applied for any additional passports since June of 1950?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WALSH. Have you made applications since 1950 and been denied a passport by the Department of State?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on previous grounds.

Mr. WALSH. I show you a copy of this application dated and executed on the 22d day of December 1955, and ask you whether or not that is an application which you submitted to the State Department for a passport.

(Document handed to witness.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the previous grounds to answer.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WILLIS. That was an application for a passport to travel where?

Mr. WALSH. According to the application for the passport, he was supposed to go to France, England, Italy, Switzerland, probably Belgium and Holland, and the purpose of the trip was travel.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you make that trip?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previous grounds.

Mr. WALSH. You will note that on this application, on page 1, according to the notation here, the fee was returned March 8, 1957, \$9.00.

Would you look at that and verify that, sir?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer.

Mr. WALSH. Is that a fact?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the previous grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Will you tell the committee why the passport was denied and the fee returned?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that on the previous grounds.

Mr. WALSH. I now show you Sharpe Exhibit No. 5, and ask you to look at that and tell me whether or not you ever received such a letter from the Department of State?

(Document handed to witness.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the previous grounds.

Mr. WILLIS. In order to set the record straight, may the Chair repeat that the position of the committee with respect to the declination on the grounds indicated is the same as pointed out a moment ago, and that will apply to the questions asked up to now and those

to come, if there are to be some more indications of the privileges of the Constitution.

Mr. SHARPE. I am sorry, I missed what you said.

Mr. WILLIS. Read it.

(The reporter read the record.)

Mr. JOHANSEN. I think the record should show or at least the witness should indicate that when he says he declines on the same grounds, he is saying that he declines to answer on the same grounds.

Is that correct?

Mr. SHARPE. That is correct.

Mr. WALSH. I again show you Exhibit No. 5, a letter dated February 26, 1957, and signed by Frances G. Knight, Director, Passport Office.

I ask you whether or not the second paragraph which I now read to you is contained in that letter:

In our letter of January 12, 1956, you were requested to submit as part of your application an affidavit respecting present or past membership in the Communist Party, as provided for in Section 51.142 of the Passport Regulations. Since you have failed to comply with this request no action can be taken on your pending application as it is incomplete.

Is that a correct statement of that which is contained in Exhibit No. 5?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previous grounds.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you offering that letter?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, Mr. Chairman, Sharpe Exhibit No. 5.

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 5" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, as I understand it, the passport application was not acted upon because it was incomplete in the sense that he failed to comply with the law and regulations requiring a disclosure of Communist affiliation?

Mr. WALSH. Present or past; yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

Mr. WALSH. When this letter was sent to you on February 26, 1957, were you at that time a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the previous grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Had you been a member of the Communist Party prior to February 26, 1957?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Subsequently, you also filed a new passport application on January 16, 1959; is that correct?

This is Sharpe Exhibit No. 6. I show this to you and ask you to tell us whether or not you are the individual who made the application for that passport?

(Document handed to witness.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the stated grounds.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 6" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. Is that a photostatic copy of your signature?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WILLIS. Is this a series of applications? That is application No. 3, as I understand?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, Mr. Chairman. In this case, the passport was issued.

Mr. WILLIS. It was issued?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Although you did not answer the questions in this application, Sharpe Exhibit No. 6, whether or not you were or had been a member of the Communist Party, nevertheless the passport was issued to you; is that correct?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. And it was issued to you on February 13, 1959, is that correct?

Mr. SHARPE. Was that a question?

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that on the above stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Is there any reason why you did not execute these questions appearing under your picture, which read as follows:

Are you now a member of the Communist Party? (Write "yes" or "no".)
Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party? (Write "yes" or "no".)
If ever a member, state period of membership, from, to.

You did not fill that in, did you?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Why didn't you?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Was it because of the decision in *Kent-Briehl v. Dulles*, 357 U.S. 116, in which the Supreme Court said that the State Department had no right to ask you these questions?

Is that the reason you did not fill it in?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above stated grounds.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me see if I understand the facts. Prior to the Kent-Briehl decision the Secretary of State required passport applicants to answer as to their past or present membership in the Communist Party. Then the Supreme Court in Kent-Briehl ruled that the Secretary had no authority to require this information.

That is putting it bluntly.

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, this witness applied for a passport on one or two occasions and the passport was denied?

Mr. WALSH. As exemplified by Exhibit No. 4, in which the Director of the Passport Office on February——

Mr. WILLIS. On one previous occasion the passport was denied because the witness failed to answer the questions that the State Department required pursuant to law and regulations?

Mr. WALSH. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. And finally came the Supreme Court decision in Kent-Briehl which struck down those regulations, in effect, and he then was issued a passport pursuant to the Supreme Court decision?

Mr. WALSH. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. And I suppose there are many others in the same category.

Mr. WALSH. Hundreds.

Mr. JOHANSEN. By invoking the self-incrimination provision of the fifth amendment in response to the last question the witness is, in effect, saying that to acknowledge that he availed himself of the benefits of the Supreme Court decision would be self-incriminating.

Mr. WILLIS. That is a matter of interpretation. We are not putting words into the witness' mouth. He has invoked the fifth amendment under the conditions he outlined.

Mr. WALSH. I previously asked you what was your occupation from 1954 to the present time.

On this passport application which was issued to you on February 13, 1959, Sharpe Exhibit No. 6, you state as your occupation "Publisher."

Is that correct?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. In 1959, were you the publisher of any pamphlets or books?

Mr. SHARPE. I invoke the same grounds which I stated previously.

Mr. WALSH. I show you, Mr. Witness, Exhibit No. 7, which is a copy of a letter from International Arts and Sciences Press, 33 West 42nd Street, New York 36, New York. It was signed by Myron E. Sharpe as president.

I show this to you to refresh your recollection before I ask you the next question.

(Document handed to witness.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WALSH. Were you on February 7, 1959 the date of this letter, president of the International Arts and Sciences Press?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. On the letterhead of International Arts and Sciences Press, you wrote to the Passport Office, Department of State, Washington, D.C.:

DEAR SIR: I applied for a passport at the Passport Agency, Rockefeller Center, N.Y. It was to have been ready February 6, but there was a delay. I am therefore sending my representative to your office on Monday to pick up the passport in Washington.

Who was your representative in Washington that you asked to pick up your passport?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the previous grounds.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 7" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. On the ground that it would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. SHARPE. I would simply repeat the same grounds upon which I answered that question before.

Mr. WILLIS. And the Chair repeats its position. You understand our position, do you, so we won't have to haggle over it?

Mr. SHARPE. I do. I hope you understand mine.

Mr. WALSH. At the top of Sharpe Exhibit No. 7 there is printed "Problems of Economics, English Translation of the U.S.S.R. Monthly Journal, Voprosy Ekonomiki."

Is that correct?

(Document was handed to witness.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that on the above stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Were you on February 7, 1959, the date of this letter, publishing *Problems of Economics* which is the English translation of the Soviet monthly journal?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WILLIS. And does the letter show under what corporate entity he was publishing that material?

Mr. WALSH. It is the International Arts and Sciences Press, according to Exhibit No. 7, and he signs "Myron E. Sharpe, President," on this letter.

Mr. WILLIS. Is that a separate entity or publication, separate from Crosscurrents Press previously referred to?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, Mr. Chairman. We will bring that out shortly.

Mr. WILLIS. You have registered, individually, and perhaps in your capacity as an officer of an entity, under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, have you?

Mr. SHARPE. I am sorry, I cannot answer that question on the basis of the grounds which I invoked earlier.

Mr. WILLIS. The record, Mr. Counsel, thus far so indicates that he registered, am I correct, under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, individually and as an officer of Crosscurrents?

Mr. WALSH. Of Crosscurrents Press.

Mr. WILLIS. The record shows that?

Mr. WALSH. As of this time; yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. And the record thus far also shows that he filed an application for registration under that same law, individually and/or as an officer of World—what?

Mr. WALSH. Crossworld Press, which he said was a typographical error.

We will bring out later, perhaps, the significance of the mistake in designating the organization Crossworld instead of Crosscurrents.

Referring to *Problems of Economics*, which was the translation of a monthly journal, printed in the Soviet Union, did you have any representative in America that you conferred with, whereby you agreed to publish such material as *Problems of Economics*?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did you ever publish the *Problems of Economics*?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Would you tell the committee, please, how did you happen to get the translations of this monthly journal printed in Russia?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WILLIS. And I suppose, Mr. Counsel, that you will produce evidence at an appropriate point—I do not want to anticipate your line of procedure—indicating the circulation of Crosscurrents material?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. Does that include *Problems of Economics*?

Mr. WALSH. No, sir, it does not include the *Problems of Economics*.

Did the Soviet Union supply you with translations of the articles that appeared in its *Problems of Economics*?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the above stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Is the International Arts and Sciences Press a printing company? Do they actually print pamphlets or books?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Let me ask you this: Did you ever pay any royalties to any Soviet agency for the translated material that you copied from the Soviet monthly journal, *Problems of Economics*?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. It is public knowledge, is it not, that certain of these publications were in existence and are in existence at the present time?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did any Soviet agency ever buy any quantities of these publications from you or from International Arts and Sciences Press, of which you are president?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Other than the *Problems of Economics*, did International Arts and Sciences Press publish at that time any other publications with reference to Soviet information?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Counsel, you have asked whether, in effect, the Soviet Embassy was on the mailing list for a considerable amount of this material? Is that about the purport of your question?

Mr. WALSH. Well, it is, but I am leading up to that later on, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Just in order to avoid the implication that those are wild questions, and I do not know what he is going to answer, frankly, will you offer proof that that is so, that a considerable amount of this material goes to the Soviet Embassy?

Mr. WALSH. I would like to come to that in order, so that I may make it a complete picture, if I may.

Mr. WILLIS. I am afraid you misunderstood my question.

I said: Are you going to submit, through some witness, evidence that it is a fact—you asked the question—that material which you have been talking about, some of it, goes to the Soviet Embassy and some of it is distributed from there?

Mr. WALSH. Material published by Mr. Sharpe from Crosscurrents Press, that is what we are going to prove. I was asking a preliminary question with reference to International Arts and Sciences Press.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, so at least Crosscurrents is there.

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

In your passport application, Exhibit No. 6, issued February 13, 1959, you stated that the purpose of your trip was business and that you intended to travel to France and England. Is that correct?

Is that on your application?

(Document handed to witness.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Would you tell the committee whether or not you did, on that particular trip, when you left New York in February 1959, visit France and England?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did you visit any other country on that trip that you said was for business?

Mr. SHARPE. The same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Did you visit Moscow and the Soviet Union on the passport that was issued to you on February 13, 1959; Exhibit No. 6?

Mr. SHARPE. The same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Sharpe, I show you a short-form registration statement. The name of the registrant is Crossworld Press, Incorporated.

This is Sharpe Exhibit No. 8. It was executed by Myron Sharpe.

I ask you to look on page 3 of Exhibit No. 8 and answer whether or not that is a photostatic copy of your signature?

(Document handed to witness.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previous grounds.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 8" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. On this registration which was filed by you—a photostatic copy obtained from the Department of Justice—and signed by Myron E. Sharpe for Crossworld Press, Incorporated, paragraph No. 4 has you stating that you visited France, Belgium and the U.S.S.R., and the purpose of the visit in these foreign countries was for business.

Is that correct?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. In your passport application, Sharpe Exhibit No. 6, you stated that you only intended to go to France and England. Was that a truthful answer when you made this application for your passport?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WILLIS. The one that was granted?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Did you know at that time that you intended to go to Soviet Russia?

Mr. SHARPE. The same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Prior to the time that you left the United States in 1959, and according to your own statement on Exhibit 8 that you did go to the U.S.S.R., had you discussed with anybody in the United States the business that you would conduct while you were in Soviet Russia?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that on the previous grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did anyone in this country make any arrangements for you to meet with anyone while you were abroad?

Mr. SHARPE. The same answer.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. Have you finished conferring with counsel?

Mrs. PIEL. Just one moment.

Mr. WILLIS. Surely. Take your time.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WALSH. On Sharpe Exhibit No. 8, the short-form registration statement which you signed, in Section 6(a) you state that the registrant has obtained the exclusive United States rights to publish and distribute books and pamphlets published by the principal and that registrant may sell, on occasion, some of the materials published by it, to the principal.

Who was the principal you referred to on the registration statement?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Under Section 7, you sold certain of these books to the "International Book Company." I won't try to pronounce the Russian, but that is the literal translation of it.

Are you familiar with the Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga, commonly referred to as MezKniga?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Have you ever had any written communications with MezKniga or the International Book Company in Moscow, with reference to items published by Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. But the principal from which you obtained the United States rights to publish and distribute books was the International Book Company in Moscow? Is that correct?

Mr. SHARPE. The same grounds.

Will you excuse me a minute while I confer with counsel?

Mr. WALSH. Surely.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mrs. PIEL. At this time, if I may interpose a remark——

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, Mrs. Piel?

Mrs. PIEL. The witness has just recalled something which makes a previous statement of his in error with regard to his response to the subpoena as to Crossworld Press, and he would like to make an explanation as to why he has not brought any records from Crossworld Press.

Mr. WILLIS. That is perfectly proper.

Mr. SHARPE. I want to correct that and say I believe it is in error. During the last few minutes, in reflecting about Crossworld Press, I believe the situation is that Crosscurrents Press was first incorporated as Crossworld Press, or at least an application for incorporation was made under that name, and it was subsequently found that there was another entity with that name, and we were obliged to change the name.

This is the best of my recollection. I seem to recall this in the course of the last few minutes, but I am not absolutely sure.

Mr. WILLIS. We are glad to have you make that statement.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Then the import of that statement is that the organization, the entity, did never exist under that name, you believe, because it was found that there was another organization by that name and for that reason you could not incorporate under it?

Mr. SHARPE. I believe that is correct. It may have existed in some sense for a short period of time, a week, two weeks, or a month, or it may not have, if the application for incorporation was not accepted.

I simply do not recall. It was several years ago, and it just struck me recently that this probably is the explanation.

Mr. JOHANSEN. With whom would that application for incorporation have been filed?

Mr. WALSH. The Secretary of State of New York.

Mr. WILLIS. It is a State corporation.

Mr. SHARPE. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. It is a New York corporation?

Mr. SHARPE. That is right.

Mr. WALSH. As of December 9, 1959, you were not cognizant of the fact, I presume, that there was another corporation known as Crossworld, Incorporated; is that what you have explained to us?

Mr. WILLIS. In substance that is what he has said.

Mr. SHARPE. Yes; that is correct.

Mr. WALSH. What is the other corporation which also has "Crossworld" in it, and why did you change this Crossworld Press to Crosscurrents Press?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I am afraid I will have to decline to answer that on the above stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Unfortunately, you have opened the door now, because you have given an explanation, and I think I am privileged at this time to pursue this matter more fully since you have given the explanation. You have waived your right in this particular instance.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I differ with your interpretation because I was simply identifying the subpoena which has the term "Crossworld Press" in it, and not responding to any question.

I made a clarification of an earlier attempt to identify the term "Crossworld Press," and during the course of this hearing I had a recollection that there was this incorporation.

So my answer is simply in identification of the subpoena.

Mr. WALSH. Let me ask you this question: You stated in your explanation that you had found out that there was another corporation "Crossworld." Is that a fact?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I stand on my previous explanation of that question.

Mr. WALSH. Is not it a fact that the reason you changed Crossworld Press to Crosscurrents Press is due to the fact that in Chicago there is another corporation, the Cross World Books and Periodicals, Inc., which also has been registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the above-stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Would you direct the witness to answer that question?

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Counsel, in all fairness, the witness takes the position that his explanation of the two entities is directed to the fulfillment of a subpoena identification.

As I understand it our files, your files, show two applications by two entities, and you issued, properly, two subpoenas. He has taken the position, and I will not be technical about it, that his explanation thus far has to do with an attempt to satisfy the two subpoenas, the requirements of the two subpoenas.

But he did not want to go beyond that. I understand that. Because, and let us be fair about it, his answers here may subject him to contempt or whatever penalties may be attached to testifying under these circumstances.

But, then, too, under the law, under a very separate provision of the law, failure to comply with a subpoena for the production of books, subjects one to a different kind of penalty.

So I am not going to press that.

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

In Sharpe Exhibit No. 8, in Section 7(b), you stated on September 16, 1959, you received the sum of \$9,300 from this International Book Company, Moscow, and also on October 5, 1959, for the sale of pamphlets, you received \$10,600 from the International Book Company of Moscow.

I ask you: Where were these checks deposited and in whose account?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the above stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did you have a bank account for Crossworld Press, Incorporated?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. You said you had no records. Did you have a bank account for Crossworld Press, Incorporated?

Mr. WILLIS. I think I am going to order you to answer that question because it involves failure to comply with the subpoena very definitely.

That is a proper question in terms of whether you have complied with the subpoena.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. To the best of my recollection, there never were any records under Crossworld Press. To the best of my recollection, it never functioned as the Crossworld Press.

Mr. WALSH. Is that the International Book Company that you acted as agent for when you said the principal in this registration statement, Exhibit No. 8?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that under the same grounds as stated above.

Mr. WALSH. I do not recall, but did you actually submit to the Secretary of State of New York the application for the incorporation of Crossworld Press?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I frankly do not recall.

Mr. WALSH. Who was your lawyer at that time?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I think that is an improper question.

Mr. WALSH. Did you have advice or did you request anybody to file the application for a certificate of incorporation of Crossworld Press?

Mr. SHARPE. I think the lawyer-client relationship precludes discussion of that question.

Mr. WALSH. I am not going to argue it, because it is not that important.

Now, Mr. Sharpe, I show you a certificate of incorporation of Bookfield House, Incorporated, which was filed in the Secretary of State's office on November 28, 1958, and I ask you if you are the Mr. Sharpe who incorporated Bookfield House, Incorporated?

(Document was handed to witness.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 9" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. Through exhibits heretofore introduced, and according to the exhibits, you are president of International Arts and Sciences Press.

You are also president of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, and also you state that you are president of Bookfield House, Incorporated, in another registration.

Will you tell the committee what was the relationship and what were the functions of each of these associations or corporations which I have just listed, and which you, as president, would know?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Pursuant to a subpoena on the Chemical Bank New York Trust Company, or the accounts of Myron E. Sharpe as the president of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, I show you a copy of a check in the amount of \$10,000 payable to the International Arts and Sciences Press.

I ask you—it is rather dim, but I assure you that that is a proper statement that I have just made—I ask you whether or not you recognize that check?

(Document handed to witness.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WALSH. That is a photostatic copy of a check.

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the above grounds.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 10" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. Could you tell the committee why Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, issued a check to International Arts and Sciences Press in the amount of \$10,000?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me ask you this question: Could you tell us what is the source of income of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated?

By that I mean, is it made up of the usual receipts from publications of that type and perhaps advertisements, or do you have any side contributions?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I am sorry, I have to decline to answer that question on the above grounds.

Mr. WILLIS. I am sorry you decline to answer it, too, because this is very intriguing to me.

Counsel, I go back to the first question I asked you. Do you propose to show that the overwhelming production or output of Crosscurrents Press is being purchased and distributed within the United States by an agency of the Soviet Union?

Mr. WALSH. We intend to prove that very definitely, Mr. Chairman. Practically all of the pamphlets which Crosscurrents Press published and issued were sold to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., which, in turn, utilizes a U.S. post office bulk mailing permit for the distribution of this material throughout the whole country.

Mr. WILLIS. This goes into another question which has to do with the legislative purpose of these hearings. As I understand it, and see if you agree, we have a situation where this individual, in his capacity as an officer of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, perhaps satisfies the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act, and then under the cloak of an American corporation prints, distributes and circulates this material, and again, perhaps, neatly evades the consequences of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

That is one of the major reasons for these hearings, to inquire, as we always must, into the possible finding of a loophole in that law. This could indicate what is going on.

I am particularly interested in the source of revenues. I hope you might have something to say about that later on.

Mr. WALSH. We will, sir.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Counsel, you referred to these mailings by the Soviet Embassy under the bulk rate.

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHANSEN. By the bulk rate, you are referring to the third-class postal rate that is provided by the Congress?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHANSEN. And which is, in effect, a rate subsidized by the taxpayers?

Mr. WALSH. That is correct, sir.

Now, Mr. Sharpe, would you be kind enough to identify to the committee all persons who hold a financial interest in or the sharing of the profits in Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Will that be reflected in the books and records which we asked for in the subpoena?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. How about International Arts and Sciences Press?

Mr. SHARPE. The same answer.

Mr. WALSH. And Bookfield House, Incorporated?

Mr. SHARPE. The same answer.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, I do not want to quibble with the witness, but he frequently says "same answer" and actually he is not answering.

In other words, you are declining to answer on the same grounds; is that correct?

Mr. SHARPE. That is absolutely correct.

Mr. WALSH. And Tradeworld, Incorporated, of which you also are the president; would you identify the individuals who have a financial interest in Tradeworld, Incorporated, or share the profits in it? The certificate of incorporation for Tradeworld, Incorporated is Sharpe Exhibit No. 11.

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 11" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. Are you the principal stockholder in the four corporations which I have just read to you?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Other than the four that I have mentioned, are you interested in any other corporations which distribute or disseminate Communist propaganda in America?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Witness, in Exhibit No. 8, which is the short-form registration statement, under Section 5, you are asked to list all clubs, societies, committees and other nonbusiness organizations in the United States or elsewhere, including any active or military or naval forces, of which you have been a member, a director, officer, or employee during the past 2 years.

I show you page 2. You list Library For Intercultural Studies, Incorporated, 225 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y.

I ask you to look at that and state if I have read correctly.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Is that a full and correct statement of all the organizations, nonbusiness organizations and societies that you were a member of as of December 9, 1957?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the above stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Had you ceased to be a member of the Communist Party prior to December 9, 1957, which is 2 years prior to the date on this registration statement, Exhibit No. 8?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Were you a member of the Communist Party on December 9, 1959, when you filed this statement?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that on the above stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. I again ask you now: Have you, in compliance with the registration requirement, listed the clubs, societies, and nonbusiness organizations that you were a member of for the past 2 years?

The only one you list is Library for Intercultural Studies, Incorporated. Is that a true and correct statement?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Library for Intercultural Studies, Incorporated, was incorporated by whom?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Were you one of the incorporators?

Mr. SHARPE. The same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Will you tell the committee what was the purpose of Library for Intercultural Studies and what it was supposed to do?

Mr. SHARPE. The same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did you ever work for the Library for Intercultural Studies, Incorporated?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the above grounds to answer that.

Mr. WALSH. You are listed as a director of the Library for Intercultural Studies. Is that true?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Do you know whether or not Corliss Lamont was the first president of this Library for Intercultural Studies?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. You were associated with it in November 1958; is that a fact?

Mr. SHARPE. The same answer.

Mr. WALSH. You will not tell the committee who the members or the directors or the officers of the Library for Intercultural Studies were?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did you ever draw a salary when you were employed by—if you were employed by—Library for Intercultural Studies?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Is there any relationship between the Library for Intercultural Studies, Incorporated, and Crosscurrents, or Bookfield, Incorporated?

Mr. SHARPE. The same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Or International Arts and Sciences Press?

Mr. SHARPE. The same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Or Tradeworld?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer.

Mr. WALSH. But in this application, you do say that you were a director from November 1958, to date, which is December 9, 1959, of Library for Intercultural Studies, Incorporated.

I show you this again to refresh your memory.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Will you tell me what were your duties as director of this organization?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. I show you a document which has already been marked Exhibit No. 1, and note on page 3 the names of the directors, Myron E. Sharpe, Jacqueline Steiner, and Jacqueline Lubell.

Is that correct?

(Document handed to witness.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Was Jacqueline Lubell the wife of David G. Lubell, who acted as the notary in this particular certificate of incorporation, as shown in Exhibit No. 1?

Mr. SHARPE. The same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Do you know whether or not Jacqueline Steiner was ever known as Jacqueline Berman?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Was that her married name at one time, Jacqueline Berman?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. Who is she now?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Do you know a David G. Lubell?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. When this certificate of incorporation was filed on the 16th day of December 1959, and David G. Lubell was the notary public, were you aware that he was a member of the Communist Party in December of 1959?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did David Lubell ever advance any moneys for the incorporation for carrying out the purposes of Crosseurrents Press, Incorporated?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previous grounds.

Mr. WILLIS. You have asked whether this witness was aware of the fact whether, on a specified date, Lubell was a member of the Communist Party. Has that individual been identified under oath as such a member?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

In the registration statement, which has been introduced into evidence and marked Exhibit 3, I show you the rider to Section 11(c), and ask you to look at that and tell us whether or not these books and

pamphlets were published by Crossworld, the name of the registrant, or was it Crosscurrents.

Which?

(Document handed to witness.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WALSH. Or was it International Arts and Sciences, which is indicated in the registration statement as the publisher?

Will you tell me which of the three?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Will you tell the committee of any conversations, and with whom you had conversations with the International Book Company in Moscow, whereby you became the sole distributor for certain books as listed in Exhibit 3?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Was a discussion had with anybody, either in this country or in Moscow, that perhaps it would be very beneficial to the propagandizing of Communist literature in this country if the publications were printed in this country by an American corporation?

Was that ever discussed?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. I am going to read to you from Exhibit No. 3, in which you state that 11,000 copies were printed of *For Peaceful Competition and Cooperation*, which was written by Khrushchev, and printed by International Arts and Sciences Press and that 10,051 copies of the 11,000 were distributed by International Arts and Sciences Press to the principal, which is the International Book Company in Moscow.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Were any copies distributed to any representative of the International Book Company in America?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Were these 10,051 copies delivered to the Soviet Embassy in Washington?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previous grounds.

Mr. WALSH. You also list International Arts and Sciences Press as printing 6,000 copies of *Gains in the Soviet Standard of Living Under the Seven Year Plan*, and 5,086 were distributed to the principal.

Who is the principal?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previous grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Was it the Soviet Embassy in the United States, in Washington?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Counsel, do you have any evidence that any of the material printed and distributed, disseminated through any source, by Crosscurrents Press appears in Europe in identical or similar form?

Mr. WALSH. We do, and we are coming to that later on, sir.

13,000 copies of *Higher Education in the USSR* were printed by International Arts and Sciences Press of which 9,377, according to your sworn statement, went to the principal.

I ask you again, were these delivered to Moscow, or were they delivered to a representative of the International Book Company, or were they delivered to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C.?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. There were printed 76,000 copies of *Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, On the Occasion of his Visit to the U.S.* 75,051 copies were sent to the principal. 3,000 of *The Soviet Economy 1959-1965* were printed, of which 2,527 were sent to the principal; 15,000 copies of *The Soviet Standard of Living: Social Benefits*, of which 10,088 were sent to the principal.

Is that correct?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. According to Exhibit No. 3, International Arts and Sciences Press printed those pamphlets, the titles of which I have just read to you.

Is it a fact that they did print them or did Crosscurrents print them?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previous grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Would I be factually correct in stating that International Arts and Sciences Press was not registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act at the time of the publication of these various pamphlets I have just enumerated?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Has International Arts and Sciences Press ever registered as an agent under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Was Crossworld Press, or the company which later became Crosscurrents Press, incorporated for the purpose of eliminating the necessity of International Arts and Sciences Press labeling its publications as required by the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. You were president of International Arts and Sciences Press, were you not?

Mr. SHARPE. The same answer.

Mr. WALSH. For the sake of brevity, Mr. Chairman, I would like to introduce in evidence Sharpe Exhibits 12 to 38, inclusive, which are dissemination reports under Registration No. 1308, which is the Crosscurrents Press registration number with the Department of Justice.

These dissemination reports show where the material was printed, how many copies, and to whom the copies were sent after being printed.

Mr. WILLIS. Let those exhibits be made part of the record and marked as suggested.

(Documents marked "Sharpe Exhibits Nos. 12 through 38" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. Of course, I have summarized this, but the figures that I will read are the identical figures that have been submitted by Crosscurrents Press to the Department of Justice in the dissemination report under Registration No. 1308.

Mr. WILLIS. By dissemination, you mean through the mails?

Mr. WALSH. No, to the principal individual who got the bulk of it, who, in turn, disseminated it

Mr. WILLIS. Who, in turn, disseminated those publications through the United States mail, subsidized by the taxpayers?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir. For instance, so that the committee will understand and the witness will understand, I would like to read Exhibit No. 12.

It is *The Kazakh Republic*:

1. This material, written by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Kazakh Republic, is a political, historic and economic résumé of the development of the Kazakh Republic since the establishment of the Soviet Government.

2. The material was transmitted by commercial carrier.

What do you mean by that, that the material for this booklet was transmitted by commercial carrier?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Would you make this concession? Was this dissemination report filed by Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, with the Department of Justice?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WILLIS. And that, no doubt, was in technical compliance with the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. WALSH. That is correct, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. But carried through the cloak of an American corporation, distributed among other sources, through the Soviet Embassy, and mailed out without being requested, to American citizens. Are universities included?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; and libraries.

Mr. WILLIS. At the taxpayers' expense?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir. [Reading:]

3. The bulk of the transmission was made from the plant of Trade Bindry, 636 Eleventh Avenue, New York, New York.

Have you any financial interest in the Trade Bindry?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. [Reading:]

4. Shipment was commenced on or about February 5, 1960.

5. Approximately 10,500 copies of the material have been transmitted.

6. The material in the main has been transmitted to the District of Columbia.

7. Approximately 10,000 copies were transmitted to the Soviet Embassy.

8. The registrant now has in his possession 500 copies of this material and contemplates making sales on an ad hoc basis to individuals, bookstores, and the like. It is contemplated that these sales will be in volume of less than 10 copies.

Mr. WILLIS. The résumé you have given from that exhibit is substantially the same as disclosed in the other exhibits?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir. In summarizing the following exhibits, I shall give the number of publications printed, the title, and the number of copies transmitted to the Soviet Embassy, Washington, D.C.

Mr. WILLIS. Without going into detail as you have with Exhibit No. 12.

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Exhibit No. 13—7,500 copies of *The Russian Federation*, approximately 7,000 of which went to the Soviet Embassy;

Exhibit No. 14—50,000, *Khrushchev in America*, 50,000 went to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C.;

Exhibit No. 15—21,000, *The International Situation and Soviet Foreign Policy*, 20,000 went to the Soviet Embassy;

Exhibit No. 16—7,000, *Khrushchev's Tour of Asia*, 7,000 went to the Soviet Embassy;

Exhibit No. 17—7,500, *Report of an Investigation Into the War Crimes of Theodor Oberlander*, 7,000 of which went to the Soviet Embassy;

Exhibit No. 18—20,500, *Raising the Soviet Standard of Living*, 20,000 went to the Soviet Embassy;

Exhibit No. 19—3,500, *Mikoyan in Cuba*, 3,500 went to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C.;

Exhibit No. 20—4,000, *N. S. Khrushchev's Statement and Replies to Questions*, etc.—*The U-2 Plane Incident*, 4,000, all of them went to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C.;

Exhibit No. 21—7,500, *Soviet Policy in the Current International Situation*, 7,500 went to the Soviet Embassy;

Exhibit No. 22—2,800 copies, *Speech by Nikita S. Khrushchev at the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party*, 2,800 of the same went to the Soviet Embassy;

Exhibit No. 23—25,000 copies of the *Speech by Nikita S. Khrushchev at the Fifteenth Session of the UN General Assembly*, 24,000 went to the Soviet Embassy;

Exhibit No. 24—10,000 copies, *Khrushchev in New York*, 9,000 went to the Soviet Embassy;

Exhibit No. 25—50,000 copies, *The First Man In Space*, 50,000 copies went to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C.;

Exhibit No. 26—6,000, *Three Documents of Current History*, 6,000 copies went to the Soviet Embassy;

Exhibit No. 27—20,000, *Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, approximately 19,900 went to the Soviet Embassy;

Exhibit No. 28—5,000, *A Peace Treaty with Germany*, 5,000 of which went to the Soviet Embassy;

Exhibit No. 29—41,000, *The Soviet Stand on Germany*, 41,000, approximately, went to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C.;

Exhibit No. 30—25,000, *A Letter to the American People From Nikita S. Khrushchev*, approximately 25,000—that “approximately” is in the dissemination statement—approximately 25,000 went to the Soviet Embassy in Washington;

Exhibit No. 31—25,000, *Documents of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, Volume I*, approximately 25,000 of which went to the Soviet Embassy;

Exhibit No. 32—25,000 copies of *Documents of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, Volume II*, approximately 25,000 went to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C.;

Exhibit No. 33—25,000, *Khrushchev Reports to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU*, approximately 25,000 went to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C.;

Exhibit No. 34—25,000, *Khrushchev on the Future*, 25,000, approximately, went to the Embassy in Washington, D.C.

Exhibit No. 35—50,000 copies, *Gherman Titov, First Man to Spend a Day in Space*, approximately 50,000 were sent to the Soviet Embassy;

Exhibit No. 36—8,000, *The Soviet Stand on Dis-Armament*, 8,000, approximately, went to the Soviet Embassy;

Exhibit No. 37—60,000, *Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, 32,325, approximately, went to the Soviet Embassy;

Exhibit No. 38—10,000, *Khrushchev Speaks to Moscow Voters*, 6,500, approximately, went to the Soviet Embassy.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Wherever you read the word, Mr. Counsel, “approximately”, it appears in the report?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Are these reports to the Department of Justice made under oath?

Mr. WALSH. They are sworn to; yes, sir.

Now, Mr. Sharpe, also in the registration filed on July 29, 1960, there is listed under a rider to Section 10(a), payments received by Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., and you state the purpose for which received was the sale of pamphlets and periodicals.

On January 14, 1960, the Soviet Embassy paid \$3,500; on March 7, 1960, the Soviet Embassy paid \$7,909.15. On May 2, 1960, the Soviet Embassy paid \$500. On May 4, 1960, the Soviet Embassy paid \$3,650. On June 9, 1960, the Soviet Union Embassy paid \$1,300.

Mr. WILLIS. Paid to whom?

Mr. WALSH. Paid to Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated.

Mr. WILLIS. Now we come to the source of revenue.

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

On June 9, 1960, the Soviet Embassy paid to Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, \$9,100.

Mr. WILLIS. And the statements you have been reading from are representations made under the signature of this witness to the Department of Justice?

Mr. WALSH. That is correct.

Mr. WILLIS. Those are not your figures. Those are his figures?

Mr. WALSH. They are his figures.

Mr. WILLIS. And all that is sworn to?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Under the rider of 10(a), on the registration, dated February 2, 1961, there was paid to Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, the following sums of money from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C. I am not going to include the freight charges.

July 14, 1960, \$500; July 14, 1960, \$2,900; July 25, 1960, \$750; July 26, 1960, \$9,500; August 4, 1960, \$232.66; August 23, 1960, \$1,000; October 4, 1960, \$500; October 4, 1960, \$25,000.

There is a notation here that there was a refund made on October 14 in the amount of \$4,000, reflecting an error in registrant's invoice.

On November 7, 1960, payment by the Soviet Embassy to Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, \$500; on November 29, 1960, a payment of \$15,026.79 made to Crosscurrents Press by the Soviet Union.

There is also a notation here that there was a refund made on November 30, 1960, in the amount of \$880, reflecting error in registrant's invoice.

On November 30, 1960, the sum of \$500 was paid to Crosscurrents Press by the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you tabulate, Mr. Counsel, in total what the payments were by the Soviet Embassy to Crosscurrents Press, reflected from statements made under oath, or sworn to, by this individual to the Department of Justice?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir. It is in excess of approximately \$240,000.

Mr. WILLIS. Over what period of time, roughly?

Mr. WALSH. September of 1959 to date, according to the registrations which have been filed with the Department of Justice.

Mr. WILLIS. That is about two years and a half.

Mr. WALSH. And also the documents submitted by the witness this morning which we have analyzed during the course of this examination.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Chairman, that was a quorum call that just rang. I would suggest that we recess until 2:30.

Mr. WILLIS. We will recess until 1:45.

Mrs. PIEL. Mr. Chairman, may I ask you whether you intend to complete your investigation today of this witness, or whether it will go on until tomorrow?

Mr. WALSH. We are going to do our best.

Mr. WILLIS. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. WILLIS. We will recess until 1:45 this afternoon.

(Members present at time of recess: Representatives Willis, Johansen, and Tuck.)

(Whereupon, at 12:25 p.m., Wednesday, May 9, 1962, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 1:45 p.m., the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION, WEDNESDAY, MAY 9, 1962

(The subcommittee reconvened at 1:45 p.m., May 9, 1962, Hon. Edwin E. Willis, presiding.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will please come to order. Counsel, you may proceed.

Let the record show that three members of the subcommittee are present.

You may proceed, Mr. Walsh.

TESTIMONY OF MYRON EMANUEL SHARPE—Resumed

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Sharpe, starting with the publication *For Peaceful Competition and Cooperation*, would you kindly tell the committee in what manner and to what extent were you reimbursed by Soviet organizations or establishments for the publications prepared by your firm?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the grounds which I stated at the outset of the hearing this morning.

Mr. WALSH. Do the records, which you have submitted in accordance with the subpoena duces tecum or served on you and to which you responded today, reflect all payments received by you from Soviet organizations or establishments and persons other than Soviet organizations?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. The records which I turned over pursuant to the subpoena duces tecum reflect all receipts of Crosscurrents Press to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. WALSH. You have listed in that payments from the Soviet Embassy in Washington. My question is now: Do the records, which you produced this morning and pursuant to the subpoena duces tecum, reflect payments to Crosscurrents Press for these publications other than payment from the Soviet Union or the Soviet Embassy in the United States?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. Do you mean by that question do those records reflect receipts from sources other than the payments from Soviet sources?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, that is the question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. They reflect all receipts as I previously testified, all receipts received by Crosscurrents Press, to the best of my knowledge and information.

Mr. WALSH. Starting with the publication *For Peaceful Competition and Cooperation*, have you ever caused to be mailed, or have you mailed, any of these publications which were paid for by an agency of the Soviet Government to any person or persons resident in the United States?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WALSH. Do you happen to have a permit from the Post Office for a bulk rate?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the previous grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Have you ever obtained or supplied any list to any Soviet organization, a list of names and addresses of residents in the United States?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Have you ever obtained a list of libraries in the United States which you supplied to the Soviet Embassy in Washington?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Again referring to the publication *For Peaceful Competition and Cooperation*, have you received from any Soviet organization or Soviet establishment, names and addresses of residents of the United States which you have used to advertise literature or publications by Crosscurrent Press?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Would the same answer also be with reference to International Arts and Sciences Press?

Mr. SHARPE. Yes; same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Bookfield House, Incorporated?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Tradeworld, Incorporated?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer.

Mr. JOHANSEN. The same answer meaning to decline to answer on the previously stated grounds?

Mr. SHARPE. That is right.

Mr. WALSH. Now, Mr. Sharpe, I have read to you this morning, some of the documents which were printed by Crosscurrents Press, and I specifically call your attention to *Documents of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU Volume I*.

Are you familiar with that?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. That same volume was republished and 25,000 copies were republished of the text—but the title and the format *Khrushchev Reports to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU*—are they one and the same book?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Is there any reason why you changed the format and title on the cover and reprinted the same document twice?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. There were also printed by Crosscurrents Press, *Documents of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU Volume II*. The format on that was changed and the same book was reissued under the title of *Khrushchev on the Future*.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did you discuss with anyone the reasons why the format was changed in the two books I have just read to you although they are exactly the same in both instances?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the previous grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did you ever discuss this change of format with your principal, the International Book Co. in Moscow?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer. I decline.

Mr. WALSH. Did you have any correspondence with them or did they direct you to change the format of the books?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did you ever have any conversation with representatives of the International Book Co. in this country with reference to the change in these books that I have just called to your attention?

Mr. SHARPE. The same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Did you ever have any conversation with any representative in the Soviet Embassy with reference to the changing of the format of these two books?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that.

Mr. WALSH. Because, as you know, with the first two books you printed 25,000 each, and then you changed the format and then you printed 25,000 additional copies of each book, and sold them to the Soviet Embassy.

My question was directed as to the Soviet Embassy or any representative therein.

Did anyone tell you to change the format and have it reprinted?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. For purposes of identification, may these two books be marked Sharpe Exhibits Nos. 39 and 40?

Mr. WILLIS. It is so ordered.

(Documents marked "Sharpe Exhibits Nos. 39 and 40" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. I have before me Sharpe Exhibit No. 39 and I call your attention to pages 30 and 31, the *Report on the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, by N. S. Khrushchev.

I read from page 30 that which is italicized:

The new Program signifies a full realization in practice of the Party slogan, "Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man."

I ask you to look at that and tell us whether or not the italicized portion which I just read is correct?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WALSH. And on page 31 as long as you have the document there, it states, in italicized language:

A document of true communist humanism; it is imbued with the ideas of peace and fraternity among nations.

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. In Exhibit No. 40, the title of which is *Khrushchev on the Future*, I again call your attention to page 30 and page 31 and

that which I read to you from Exhibit No. 39 is exactly the same as appears in Exhibit No. 40, *Khrushchev on the Future*. I ask you to look at Exhibit No. 40 and tell me whether or not the italicized portion is exactly the same as that contained in Exhibit No. 39?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. This information that you received—you say in your registration statement that you receive and republish material from the Soviet Union—did you receive the translation or did you receive the contents of these two books, Exhibits 39 and 40, in the Russian language and have translations made by your office, Crosscurrents Press?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Where did you get the information, Mr. Sharpe, contained in these books? Where did Crosscurrents Press get that material?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Did you ever receive any plates from the International Book Company in Moscow with reference to these books, Exhibits 39 and 40?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer.

Mr. WALSH. *On The Communist Party Program* is Sharpe Exhibit No. 41. A comparison of this book has been made by the committee with Exhibits Nos. 39 and 40, just introduced in evidence.

The actual title of this book is *On the Communist Programme—Report on the Programme of the C.P.S.U. To the 22nd Congress of the Party*.

This is published by Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow. I call your attention to page 24 and page 25 and I ask you to note where I have marked with pencil which states:

The new Programme signifies a full realisation in practice of the Party slogan, "Everything for the sake of man, for the benefit of man."

Is that italicized in the same manner as that which I read to you from pages 30 of Sharpe Exhibits Nos. 39 and 40?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above stated grounds.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 41" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. You do note that this book which is exactly the same as Exhibits Nos. 39 and 40 was published by Foreign Languages Publishing House in Moscow?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Now, the list of books which I read to you this morning, of which there were 33, how do you select these books or are you directed as to which books to publish?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. How do you know how many copies that the Soviet Embassy will buy of these particular books before you print them so that your budget will be taken care of in the printing of these books.

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Because I have noted and I again call to your attention that 25,000 copies were printed by you and bought by the Soviet Embassy of Exhibit No. 39.

And of Exhibit No. 40, 25,000 were printed by you and 25,000 were purchased by the Soviet Embassy.

Now, does the Soviet Embassy tell you how many books it will purchase before you start printing?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. According to the compilation made by the committee staff, we find that Crosscurrents Press published 33 pamphlets or booklets and approximately 718,300 copies were delivered to the Soviet Embassy.

Is that factual?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. But you do admit that you received approximately \$240,000 from the Soviet Embassy, according to the documents you produced this morning pursuant to a subpoena duces tecum, in your capacity as president of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that on the previously stated grounds.

The records speak for themselves and the records are a complete reflection of the receipts of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated; to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. WALSH. Exhibit No. 23, already in evidence, is a dissemination report which is entitled *A Speech by Nikita S. Khrushchev at the Fifteenth Session of the UN General Assembly*. You reported that 24,000 copies went to the Soviet Embassy in Washington.

Do you know a man by the name of Hyman Lumer, educational director of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did you, as president of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, deliver or cause to be delivered to Hyman Lumer, 500 copies of this booklet I have just named?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. You will note that on this dissemination report, Exhibit No. 23, you have listed that you furnished 500 copies to Mr. Hyman Lumer, 23 West 26th Street, New York.

I show you that to refresh your recollection, if possible.

Is that a fact that you as president of the Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, filed this dissemination report on November 7, 1960, with the Department of Justice pursuant to your duty under the law as an agent of a foreign government?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Will you tell us whether or not Crosscurrents Press was reimbursed for the 500 copies that you say or the Crosscurrents Press says were delivered to Hyman Lumer?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer as before.

Mr. WALSH. Were you reimbursed by Hyman Lumer?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. In the records which you furnished us today, is there anything in those records which would show that you received any money from Hyman Lumer for these 500 copies?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Would your records show that you received any money from the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Would your records show that you received reimbursement for these 500 copies from any Soviet organization?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. If that amount of money was not in the records you gave today, would you state that you were not reimbursed for the 500 copies which you delivered to Hyman Lumer?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. In 1960, did you know Anton Krchmarek to be chairman of the Ohio District of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WALSH. Is it a fact that Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, sent to Anton Krchmarek 100 copies of the *Speech by Nikita S. Khrushchev at the Fifteenth Session of the UN General Assembly*?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer as before.

Mr. WALSH. For the purpose of refreshing your recollection, I call your attention to the fourth item from the bottom, in which it states 100 copies.

Does that refresh your recollection?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer.

Mr. WALSH. Was Crosscurrents Press reimbursed by Anton Krchmarek?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Or by the Communist Party of Ohio?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer.

Mr. WALSH. Were you paid for those 100 books?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer as before.

Mr. WALSH. George A. Meyers is the chairman of the Communist Party of Maryland.

Do you know that?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did you cause 50 copies of this document to be sent to George Meyers, chairman of the Maryland District of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. I wish to correct the statement I made. Instead of 50 I should have said 40; but if I said 40, would that change any of the answers that you previously made?

Mr. SHARPE. I think not.

Mr. WALSH. I show you this for the purpose of refreshing your recollection.

In the records, which you produced today pursuant to the subpoena, which I will show you later, are there any notations for receipts of money from George Meyers?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. How about any reimbursement for these 40 copies by the Communist Party of Maryland?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. Would you state that you were not reimbursed for these 40 copies?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Are you familiar with the New Era Book Agency?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the original grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did you know that the New Era Book Agency was the distributor for New Century Publishers in New York which publishes *Political Affairs*, *Mainstream*, and other Communist publications?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer.

Mr. WALSH. Do you know Joseph Felshin, president of New Century Publishers?

Mr. SHARPE. Same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Do you know whether or not New Era Book Agency has any official connection with the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. SHARPE. Previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Now, in a dissemination report filed by you, Exhibit No. 37, did you cause the 10,000 copies of this booklet, namely, *Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, to be delivered to New Era Book Agency between January and March of 1962?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the originally stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Were you reimbursed for these copies by New Era Book Agency?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer.

Mr. WALSH. If you did receive a payment, would the payment be reflected in that which you submitted in response to the subpoena which had been served upon you on April 5?

Mr. SHARPE. Same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Or by New Century Publishers?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Or by the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Did you also between January and March of 1962 cause to be delivered 10,000 copies of the *Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* to Four Continent Book Corporation in New York City?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Are you familiar with any of the members who compose the corporation known as Four Continent Book Corporation?

Mr. SHARPE. Same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. They are in the same building as you are, aren't they?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did you ever have any conversation with any officer of Four Continent Book Corporation with reference to the dissemination or the distribution of these 10,000 copies?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. In your registration statement you claim to possess a verbal contract with the International Book Company of Moscow, giving you the exclusive rights not only to publish, but to distribute books and pamphlets published by the International Book Company.

You have so stated in your registration statement, have you not?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. I now show you a photostat of an amended statement to your registration statement No. 1308, filed February 10,

1960—to refresh your recollection—and ask you whether or not the statement there is true and correct.

For the purpose of the record, I would like to read it. This is Sharpe Exhibit No. 42.

There is no written agreement between the registrant and its “foreign principal.”

In substance, the agreement between the parties gives the registrant the exclusive United States rights to publish and distribute books and pamphlets published by the “principal.” The registrant distributes and sells these books and pamphlets in the United States for its own account, and not as agent for the “principal.” The “principal” will, on occasion, order pamphlets and/or books from the registrant on a conventional vendor-vendee basis.

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above stated grounds.

(Document marked “Sharpe Exhibit No. 42” and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. In Exhibit No. 42, which I just read to you, you state that you have exclusive rights to the publishing of these books from the International Book Company of Moscow.

According to our investigation, the Four Continent Book Corporation also has a contract with the International Book Company of Moscow to distribute the books and pamphlets published.

Do you know of any such arrangement?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did you ever discuss this with any member or officer of Four Continent Book Corporation?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Did you ever discuss it with the International Book Company of Moscow?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Do they have a representative in this country?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer.

Mr. WALSH. Is there any financial relationship between Cross-currents Press, Incorporated, and Four Continent Book Corporation?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Do you have any financial interest in Four Continent Book Corporation?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Right in the beginning of the session this morning we were talking about Crossworld Press, Incorporated, which you said was a typographical error; is that correct?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. Initially, that was my impression, but my further recollection was—I had a further recollection which I stated at the time the question came up.

Mr. WALSH. Just for your information, the Cross World Books and Periodicals of Chicago has a contract with the International Book Company in Moscow and I was asking you a question whether or not you have any financial interest in Cross World Books and Periodicals, Incorporated, of Chicago?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Would it be factual to state that after you were going to file for incorporation as Crossworld Press, Incorporated, that you were advised that there was already in existence the Cross World Books and Periodicals of Chicago?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did you know that Cross World Books and Periodicals of Chicago were registered as foreign agents?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Sharpe, from our investigation and after studying your booklets it was determined that in London, England, there is a company known as Soviet Booklets.

Several publications selected by Crosscurrents Press for distribution in English in the United States have been found to be identical with the books printed in English by Soviet Booklets for dissemination in London.

An illustration is Crosscurrents' reproduction of a booklet entitled *Speech by Nikita S. Khrushchev at the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party* and the booklet by the London company entitled *Nikita S. Khrushchov Speech at the Third Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party*. Can you explain to the committee now how Crosscurrents Press, Inc., happened to select for publication a document which was also published in London and which the committee understands was also published in English in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Chairman, I show you this, and ask that it be marked Sharpe Exhibit No. 43?

Mr. WILLIS. It will be so marked.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 43" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. Would you look at that to refresh your recollection?

Now will you look at Sharpe Exhibit No. 44 which I offer in evidence and tell me whether or not Crosscurrents printed that pamphlet?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the originally stated grounds.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 44" and retained in committee file.)

Mr. WALSH. Having seen both Sharpe Exhibits 43 and 44, can you tell the committee whether or not they are exactly the same?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the originally stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Have you any correspondence or any connection with Soviet Booklets, London, England?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer as before.

Mr. WALSH. Do you have any financial interest in them?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. Do you correspond with them?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. Did they send to you the English context of the booklet which Crosscurrents printed, Sharpe Exhibit No. 44?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Sharpe, I will hand to you copies of certain pages of the *World Marxist Review* issue of February 1962, published in Canada by Progress Books.

This publication is according to its masthead a "Theoretical and Information Journal of Communist and Workers' Parties."

The issue of February 1962 contains a story, "Word of the Future," and relates itself to the text of the program and other documents of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which

the article claims to have been published in "nearly every country of the world."

After setting forth the identity of the Communist publishing houses which are publishing these documents in English and other languages, there is printed this sentence:

In the United States the Congress documents were published in two volumes by Crosscurrents Press.

Now I ask you to examine this document and the story to which I have referred and tell the committee whether you or Crosscurrents Press had been in contact with any of the establishments in connection with the publication of the program, other documents of the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and any other booklets contemplated to be published by Crosscurrents Press?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that on the originally stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Do you or does Crosscurrents Press have a branch or an affiliate in Moscow?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the original grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Do you have any representatives of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, in any other location outside the continental limits of the United States?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Do you know what disposition was made of these booklets which we discussed this morning and which were delivered to the Soviet Embassy in Washington?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the original grounds.

Mr. WALSH. There was recently a Soviet exhibition at Wheaton Plaza Shopping Center in Maryland which was produced under the Cultural Exchange Program between the United States and U.S.S.R.

As part of the exhibit there were distributed booklets printed by Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated.

Did you or any representative of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, distribute these booklets at the Wheaton Plaza Shopping Center exhibition?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the original grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Did you know that booklets printed by Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, were distributed at the Wheaton Plaza Shopping Center exhibition?

As you know, Mr. Sharpe, many documents printed by the Crosscurrents Press are mailed unsolicited to individuals, organizations, and societies in the United States and under the bulk mail permit your publications have been sent to libraries, private and public, throughout the United States, and to the working press in the Washington metropolitan area.

Does Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, play any role in the preparation of these documents for dissemination by the press department of the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C.?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the original grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Crosscurrents Press printed a booklet entitled *The Soviet Stand on Germany* and also reprinted in that document A

Letter to the American People from Nikita S. Khrushchev in which he states:

I consider it a sensible and timely show of initiative on the part of Crosscurrents Press to provide American readers with an opportunity to get acquainted with the speeches and documents stating the position of the Soviet Government in regard to the German problem, particularly concerning the question of concluding a peace treaty with Germany.

I show you this book and ask you whether or not what I have read is correct.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Was that "letter" with reference to the Crosscurrents Press, solicited by you as president of Crosscurrents Press through the Soviet Embassy in Washington?

Mr. SHARPE. Same grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Had you any correspondence with Khrushchev with reference to the letter which appears in *The Soviet Stand on Germany*?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. Have you any contact with anybody connected with the Soviet Union wherein you were able to receive this letter, which I just read to you, from Nikita Khrushchev?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the original grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Would you tell the committee how you got the other documents which are contained in *The Soviet Stand on Germany*?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. May I have this marked as Sharpe Exhibit No. 45?

Mr. WILLIS. It will be so marked.

Mr. WALSH. Did you ever submit the documents in Exhibit No. 45 to the State Department?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the original grounds.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 45" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. The purpose for which I asked that question was so that you could tell us if you had. Would it be for the purpose of finding out whether or not the foreign policy of this Government, with reference to Germany, was the same as the documents which you printed, as shown in Exhibit No. 45, and distributed it to the American people?

Mr. SHARPE. I am sorry but I do not understand your question.

Mr. WALSH. I will withdraw the question.

Did you submit these documents which you received and printed (Exhibit No. 45) to the State Department so that it could inform you whether or not the statements contained in these documents were the same as the policy of the United States as then presented by the State Department?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the original grounds.

Mr. WALSH. May we have a short recess?

Mr. WILLIS. The committee will stand in recess for a few minutes. (Short recess taken.)

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will come to order.

You may proceed, Mr. Walsh.

Mr. WALSH. I hand you a copy of a check dated December 29, 1961, in the amount of \$25,000 and a check dated March 22, 1962, in the amount of \$9,000.

Both checks are payable to Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, and are drawn on the account of the *U.S.S.R. Magazine*. I ask you to look at them. These checks, of course, were reproduced and given to us pursuant to a subpoena served on the respective banks.

May I mark these two checks Sharpe Exhibit No. 46?

Mr. WILLIS. It is so ordered.

Mr. WALSH. Do these checks indicate that your foreign principal is the *U.S.S.R. Magazine*?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the original grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Would you give the committee an explanation with respect to these checks and what they were for?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

(Documents marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 46" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Sharpe, in August of 1959, did you under the trade name of International Arts and Sciences Press begin publishing a periodical known as *Soviet Highlights*?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline on the original grounds.

Mr. WALSH. I show you Exhibit No. 47, *Soviet Highlights*, Volume I, No. 1. I ask you to look at that and tell us whether or not it was published by International Arts and Sciences Press of which you are the president?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the original grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Volume I, No. 1, describes the objectives of *Soviet Highlights*, and announces that it will "make available English translations of important articles and speeches appearing in Soviet publications in order to expand the information that we have available about the Soviet Union."

Were the translations which appear in this and in subsequent issues translated by the staff of International Arts and Sciences Press?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the original grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Or were they submitted to you in English and you just reprinted them?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. I show you now *Soviet Highlights*, Volume II, No. 7, July 1960, and call your attention to the fact that the publisher of this issue is listed as Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated.

I call your attention to the fact that the label required of registrants under the Foreign Agents Registration Act also appears.

Will you note that?

Will you tell the committee who made the determination of dropping International Arts and Sciences Press as the publisher of the *Soviet Highlights* and substituting thereof Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, and the inclusion of the Foreign Agents Registration statement?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Is it true that this change was made because of the result of an inquiry by the Department of Justice?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. May these be marked Sharpe Exhibits Nos. 47 and 48,—Volume I, No. 1 as Exhibit 47 and Volume II, No. 7, as Exhibit 48?

Mr. WILLIS. Let the documents be so marked.

(Documents marked "Sharpe Exhibits Nos. 47 and 48" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. From our investigation, Mr. Sharpe, it appears that the publication of the *Soviet Highlights* discontinued with the July issue which I just showed you and was reissued in August of 1960 under the title *The Soviet Review*.

The first copy of *The Soviet Review* contains a letter from the publishers. The first paragraph reads as follows:

After a year of publishing Soviet Highlights and after many discussions with the readers, the editors have decided to make some important changes which we believe will produce a publication of significantly increased value.

Does that paragraph which I have just read to you set forth fully the reasons for issuing the *Soviet Highlights* under its new title *The Soviet Review*?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the original grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Is it a fact that the publication was renamed *The Soviet Review* in order to drop the Foreign Agents Registration label?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. May this be marked Sharpe Exhibit No. 49?

Mr. WILLIS. The document will be so identified.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 49" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. It is true, is it not, that the Embassy of the U.S.S.R. in Washington, D.C., on occasion through its press department gives out releases? I hand you one which is marked Sharpe Exhibit No. 50, and ask you to look at it.

In that press release, dated September 6, 1961, which you have just looked at, there is this sentence:

In connection with the great interest the American public has shown in the Soviet Union's position on the German question, the American publishing house Crosscurrents Press has issued in a mass edition a collection of documents compiled by the Novosti Press Agency (APN).

Did Crosscurrents Press request the issuance of this press release by the Soviet Embassy?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the originally stated grounds.

(Document marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 50" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. Can you elaborate and inform the committee in any manner whatsoever what caused the Soviet Embassy to issue this release?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. Had you been in communication with them in order to further the sale of this pamphlet with reference to the Soviet Union's position on Germany?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. Have any of the publications of *Soviet Highlights* ever been purchased by Soviet organizations or establishments and if so, what distribution was made of such material by the people who purchased the *Soviet Highlights*?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that on the previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. I show you a document, a dissemination report, which you also submitted under your registration No. 1308 for *Soviet Highlights*, April 1960.

In that I note that 525 copies were sent to the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C.

Is that a correct statement?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the above grounds.

Mr. WALSH. I also note that 50 copies were sent to the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, Canada. Is that a factual statement and is that true?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. Did copies also go to the Soviet Mission to the United Nations in New York City?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. Were copies also sent to Soviet Booklets in London, England?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. Was the Four Continent Bookstore in New York also a subscriber to *Soviet Highlights*?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. Did you also send copies to the International Bookstore, Inc., in San Francisco?

Mr. SHARPE. Same reply.

Mr. WALSH. And to the Progressive Book Shop, Los Angeles?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer.

Mr. WALSH. And the Jefferson Book Shop in New York City?

Mr. SHARPE. Same answer.

Mr. WALSH. Does the Soviet Embassy in the U.S., and the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa, Canada, also subscribe to *The Soviet Review*?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the original grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Sharpe, are you presently a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer on the original grounds.

Mr. WILLIS. I would like to supplement the statement I made at the opening of this hearing.

I pointed out earlier that it seemed possible to me, to say the least, that the registration by this individual, Mr. Myron E. Sharpe, as president of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, was in technical compliance with the Foreign Agents Registration Act, but at the same time operating under a loophole which cloaks a domestic corporation as it evades the law.

I think from the documentary evidence offered, without, of course, the aid of the negative answers of the witness, it appears quite clear to me, anyway, that Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, is operating in a way to be an agent of a foreign power.

In fact, the supplemental registration statement No. 1308 of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, designates as its "Foreign principal" a Russian name which translated, I understand, means International Book Company.

The Internal Security Act of 1950, which is another law separate from the Foreign Agents Registration Act, provides that a Communist-dominated organization as defined in that statute and a Communist-front organization as defined in that statute must register, and then after a certain period of time the officers and members of such organizations must register all under the sanctions and penalties of the Internal Security Act of 1950.

I suggest that we look into the necessity for an amendment of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

In my opening statement this morning, I said that one of the legislative purposes of this hearing was,

To strengthen the provisions of Section 10 of the Internal Security Act of 1950 so as to broaden the application of such section to cover persons, firms, associations, and corporations engaged in the printing, publishing, and dissemination of Soviet propaganda.

In the registration statement, it is said that the duties of the domestic agent of the foreign principal: Registrant is engaged, pursuant to exclusive rights obtained by it, in the translation, publication, and distribution of articles, pamphlets, and periodicals published originally in the Soviet Union.

Now, certainly if Communist-dominated organizations and Communist-front organizations as defined in the Internal Security Act of 1950 are required to register under the pains and penalties of that law, then it seems to me, Mr. Counsel, you were so right in announcing that one of the purposes of this hearing is to consider amending the law to make it apply to an outfit of this kind.

May I suggest that the staff discuss this with the Department of Justice and see first whether there is a violation, No. 1, of the Foreign Agents Registration Act; No. 2, a possible violation of the Internal Security Act, and, if not, let us get going with amending that statute.

You may proceed, Mr. Walsh.

Mr. WALSH. Pursuant to the subpoena under which you appeared here as president of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, the subpoena read,

All books of accounts and/or records reflecting all receipts of money by the Crosscurrents Press.

Now that which you have delivered to the committee of the Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, is a report of money received from the Embassy of the U.S.S.R., Washington, D.C.

Also, you delivered to the committee what appears to be customers' receipts, deposited in the bank account of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated.

According to the subpoena, we asked you for all books of accounts. These are not books of accounts, which shows the individual who paid the money to the Crosscurrents Press.

In other words, the committee has taken the position that you have not complied with the subpoena. Do you have any reason or explanation why you have not produced the books and records reflecting all receipts?

Mr. SHARPE. According to my understanding of the subpoena to me as president of Crosscurrents Press, I was asked to supply records reflecting all receipts of Crosscurrents Press.

These records, to the best of my knowledge, do, in fact, contain and reflect all receipts. They are a total reflection of receipts. There are no other receipts.

Mr. WALSH. How about all your books of accounts reflecting receipts?

Mr. SHARPE. There are no records which reflect any further or additional receipts than those which you have in your possession.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, may we mark this Sharpe Exhibit No. 51.

Mr. WILLIS. So ordered.

Mr. WALSH. You list here reports of money received from the Embassy of the U.S.S.R. in Washington, D.C. From what books of account did you compile these figures?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. Crosscurrents Press has a cashbook and a general ledger which contains exactly the same information about receipts as that submitted. It contains no additional information about receipts.

(Documents marked "Sharpe Exhibit No. 51" and retained in committee file.)

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, so that there will be no question or reference to the other cashbooks and ledgers that he has in his office, would you be kind enough to issue to him a subpoena for the production of all books of accounts that would reflect that which the committee in the first instance requested, namely, all books of accounts which show the receipts not only from the Soviet Embassy but all other individuals some of whom we have mentioned here today?

Mr. WILLIS. Yes, I have discussed this with the members of the subcommittee and we all agree on that course of action. Perhaps there could have been room for misconstruction or misunderstanding of the subpoena.

In order that there may be no doubt about it, I have just issued, by direction of the subcommittee, two more subpoenas which I now direct be served on Mr. Sharpe.

(Subpoenas handed to witness by staff investigator Donald T. Appell.)

Mr. WALSH. I have no other questions of this witness.

Mr. WILLIS. I think the subpoenas, on their face, show that they are returnable on the 17th, so there is ample time for consultation with counsel.

Mr. WALSH. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mrs. PIEL. If, for any reason, this date is not agreeable to my calendar, might I be in touch with the committee?

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will recess until 10:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 4 p.m., Wednesday, May 9, 1962, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10:30 a.m., Thursday, May 10, 1962.)

COMMUNIST OUTLETS FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

PART 1

THURSDAY, MAY 10, 1962

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:30 a.m., in room 445-A, Old House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; and August E. Johansen, of Michigan.

Committee member also present: Representative Henry C. Schaderberg, of Wisconsin.

Staff members present: John C. Walsh, cocounsel, and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will please come to order.

Our first witness this morning is Mrs. Maude Q. Kelsey.

Mrs. Kelsey, do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. KELSEY. So help me God, I do declare.

TESTIMONY OF MAUDE QUERY KELSEY

Mr. WALSH. Will you give the committee your full name?

Mrs. KELSEY. Mrs. Maude Query Kelsey.

Mr. WALSH. Where are you from?

Mrs. KELSEY. I am now from Shelby, N.C.

Mr. WALSH. Would you be kind enough to give to the committee a résumé of your educational background?

Mrs. KELSEY. I am a graduate of Women's College of Greensboro, of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, and of Columbia University, New York City.

Mr. WALSH. What degrees do you hold?

Mrs. KELSEY. An A.B. in English, an M.A. in English, and a Masters Degree in Library Science.

Mr. WALSH. What is your occupation?

Mrs. KELSEY. I am a librarian.

Mr. WALSH. How long have you been a librarian?

Mrs. KELSEY. Thirty years.

Mr. WALSH. Have most of your duties as librarian been in North Carolina?

Mrs. KELSEY. No; for 15 years I was in South Carolina. My first job was in Reynolds High School, Winston-Salem, N.C.; next in Charlotte Public Library in Charlotte, N.C.; then in Lancaster County for 10 years, and for 5 years Director of the Chester County Library in Chester, S.C.

Since 1952, head librarian, or director, of the Shelby Public Library, Shelby, N.C., which is a countywide library.

Mr. WALSH. You are appearing here today not as a representative of any librarian group?

Mrs. KELSEY. I am not.

Mr. WALSH. Will you make a statement to that effect, please?

Mrs. KELSEY. I belong to the North Carolina Library Association, the Southeastern Library Association, the American Library Association, and am a bona fide member and in good standing with each association.

I do not represent them. I do not speak for them. I speak for myself alone as a librarian of Shelby Public Library in Cleveland County, and as a citizen.

Mr. WALSH. During the 30 years that you have been librarian, you have studied many topics; is that correct?

Mrs. KELSEY. That is correct.

Mr. WALSH. Among those topics have been Marxism-Leninism, or communism and its effect in contradistinction to the principles of our Government?

Mrs. KELSEY. That is correct.

Mr. WALSH. Would you detail, to a certain degree, for the committee your studies with Marxism-Leninism and communism, generally?

Mrs. KELSEY. I had some of it during my student days at the University of North Carolina and then I was connected with Great Books Program and they would go, to a certain extent, into the study of Marxism-Leninism.

There was a group of us interested and we could see the thread running on right down to present-day communism and we went into it quite a bit and had discussion groups.

In fact, I have led some of those discussion groups.

Mr. WALSH. What discussion groups did you lead?

Mrs. KELSEY. Ones on communism.

Mr. WALSH. Where?

Mrs. KELSEY. In South Carolina and in North Carolina, too.

Mr. WALSH. In all of the various libraries where you participated as a librarian?

Mrs. KELSEY. Yes; and before club groups, too.

Mr. WALSH. You are familiar with the Aesopian language as used by the Communist writers, which means one thing to the Communist and something entirely different to those who have not studied Marxism-Leninism?

Mrs. KELSEY. Yes; and this has me deeply concerned.

I think perhaps there are some of our high school teachers who might think that some of this material we are going into in a few

moments might be helpful to them as horrible examples, shall we say, but as I see it, that is an unwholesome and negative way of teaching.

I sit here before you, facing the U.S. flag, and make this statement: When the day comes that I have to reach down into a dark cupboard and pull out material that will help a high school teacher teach our boys and girls of the devious methods of communism, then that is the day I am in the wrong profession.

This is not the material to give to our high school teachers.

Mr. WALSH. We will come to that in a few moments.

Mrs. KELSEY. I would like to come back to that later.

Mr. WALSH. In your opinion, what is the main function or purpose of a public library?

Mrs. KELSEY. A public library is a center of information. I would like to repeat that, a public library is a center of information.

It is not a propaganda center. There is a vast difference.

Mr. WALSH. You did receive mail in which there were enclosed three books: *Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*; *Khrushchev Reports to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, Volume I*; and *Khrushchev On the Future, Volume II*; is that correct?

Mrs. KELSEY. That is correct.

Mr. WALSH. May I see the envelope in which you received that?

May I mark this as Kelsey Exhibit No. 1 for reference purposes?

Mr. WILLIS. You may.

(Document marked "Kelsey Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. Would you read how it is addressed and from whom it has been sent?

Mrs. KELSEY. It is addressed to the Shelby Public Library, 302 So. Washington St., Shelby, N.C. That is our correct address.

Up in the left hand corner it says, "Press Department, Embassy of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Washington 9, D.C."

Mr. WALSH. Will you also read the bulk rate?

Mrs. KELSEY. "POSTMASTER: This parcel may be opened for Postal Inspection, if necessary. Return Postage Guaranteed. BULK RATE U.S. POSTAGE PAID, Washington, D.C., Permit No. 41462."

Mr. WALSH. Was this the first material you ever received from the Soviet Embassy?

Mrs. KELSEY. This is the first material we have received direct from the Soviet Embassy.

May I elaborate a moment? I would be naive, indeed, if I said I never saw Red propaganda. I have seen the leaflets they send out to the press but I have never before seen anything quite like this.

Mr. WALSH. Is there a covering letter?

Mrs. KELSEY. No explanation whatsoever.

Mr. WALSH. From your experience as a librarian in your studies of Marxism-Leninism, have you read these three books?

Mrs. KELSEY. Yes, I have.

Mr. WALSH. Have you studied them?

Mrs. KELSEY. I have.

Mr. WALSH. Have you excerpted from them certain passages that you will speak about later?

Mrs. KELSEY. Yes, I have.

Mr. WALSH. After reading these three books we have mentioned, have you come to an opinion as to the detrimental effect the contents may have on the youth of this country and adult groups?

Mrs. KELSEY. Yes, I have.

Mr. WALSH. Would you elaborate on that, Mrs. Kelsey, please?

Mrs. KELSEY. In working with the individual and with groups over a period of 30 years as a librarian, there are three distinct groups, I think, this might harm; and perhaps some teachers.

The first group are our young people, immature in years, and in emotional and mental development. A young person is looking to the librarian to help guide him in his reading habits. If he is exposed to this sort of stuff, and I will call it stuff—he might be easily swayed by that.

In this age group our youngsters are of two types that I would want you to consider—the boy or girl who will pass through and over this stage and gain his sea legs later and become mature; and the boy or girl who will always be swayed by this pie-in-the-sky sort of business and remain mixed up all of his life.

To both of these groups, the one that finally matures and the one who never matures, I, as a librarian, have a moral responsibility.

The one who does overcome it, overcomes it at great cost and he can expect to have scars the rest of his life.

In addition to that, there will always be that inner humiliation that at one time he was a gullible goat. There will always be a strike against him.

Mr. WALSH. Before you come to the second category, have you seen—from your experience of 30 years—the scars that they leave on children?

Mrs. KELSEY. Yes, I have.

In the second category of people to whom this Communist propaganda can be poison, and I use the word "poison" with quotation marks, we find that person already grown as far as birthdays are concerned but who never actually reaches emotional and mental maturity.

Among that group is the patient who keeps the psychiatrist's office full, that person we all know who bounces from one church to another hunting the great god "security," and deeming that an end in itself.

This group is fine fodder for the Communist machine. This group, I am sorry to say, is increasing.

The third category is comprised of the well-known crackpots. Like the poor, we have them with us always. Somehow or other they never seem to have to work 8 hours a day for a living. I wish I had their recipe.

Any librarian can tell you they spend most of their wakeful hours in or around a public library. They are just waiting for an opportunity to mount their soapbox. This communism misstatement of facts and truth is just the spark to set them off.

The director of a public library has a great responsibility to each individual in this group. That responsibility very definitely includes keeping out of their hands this kind of propaganda.

There is no need to leave a vacuum when you remove this. I have something I would like very much to recommend and I would like to recommend it to any high school teacher who thinks that making these books available is wonderful.

This is what I would like to recommend. Let us depend for our knowledge of communism, as I do in my library with literature on

open shelves, including all material that is coming out from our Government, Congress, State Department, et cetera. I am going to mention a few:

a. *Facts on Communism*, Volumes 1 and 2. These are put out by the Committee on Un-American Activities, Government Printing Office Publication.

b. *Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications*. That is also put out by this committee.

c. *Soviet World Outlook, A Handbook of Communist Statements*, (1950). This is put out by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, U.S. Department of State, available to anyone, available to all libraries and I keep it out on open shelves.

I maintain no dark cupboard in my library.

These documents state the plain truth.

Parenthetically, let me say I am not in the book-selling business. I am in the free book-lending business.

May I mention some books here, too?

There is one I mention—and when I do I almost feel like standing up—and that is J. Edgar Hoover's *Masters of Deceit*. That is a classic in this field. The high school teacher who wants to show the devious methods of communism in our country need only to have that book.

Another one is Werner Keller's, a rather new book, *East Minus West=Zero; Russia's Debt to the Western World, 862-1962*. It gives complete background material and present-day information.

Another is Joseph Novak's *No Third Path*. He is a native of a satellite country, studied and traveled extensively in Russia, and Novak is a pseudonym. He did not use his real name.

Frederick Charles Schwarz's *You Can Trust The Communists . . . [To Do Exactly As they Say]*.

Another one is Willard Cleon Skousen's *The Naked Communist*—a complete title because he strips him right down to the bone.

There are other volumes that are chock full of authentic information on what the Communists are doing—trying, and hoping, and planning to do.

I simply mention these as complete examples.

Mr. WALSH. As you know, the Government Printing Office has a list of publications put out by this committee which are available to the public by purchase if the committee supply is exhausted.

Mrs. KELSEY. Yes, sir; I do know that.

Mr. WALSH. Will you take the *Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*? You have read this book?

Mrs. KELSEY. I have read this book and I have studied it, and I think I can truthfully say, thoroughly.

Mr. WALSH. You have taken excerpts from this book which you think are Communist propaganda, in your opinion?

Mrs. KELSEY. Yes, I have.

Mr. WALSH. May the record show, Mr. Chairman, that there was introduced during the hearings yesterday a book, entitled *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* which was published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1961, and imported into this country for distribution. Other than grammatical changes, it is exactly the same as Mrs. Kelsey will use with

reference to her opinion of the propaganda value of the book and from which she is about to read excerpts.

On the cover of the booklet printed by Crosscurrents Press, it states:

A book that belongs with the most important documents of world communism. It presents an analysis of world trends and a sweeping twenty-year program for the transition from socialism to communism in the USSR. A basic source for everyone who wants to understand the thinking of the Soviet Communist Party.

This book contains two chapters or parts.

Part 1: The Transition From Capitalism to Communism is the Road of Human Progress.

Part 2: The Tasks of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Building a Communist Society.

Mr. WILLIS. These three books to which the witness has referred are the products of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated?

Mr. WALSH. That is right, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. And delivered to the Soviet Embassy and in turn by the Embassy to the libraries?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir. These are part of the 718,300 pamphlets which have been delivered to the Embassy for dissemination.

Mr. WILLIS. And they were identified in the record yesterday?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. JOHANSEN. And they represent part of the \$240,000 in round figures which the record showed yesterday was paid by the Soviet Embassy for the purchase of such literature?

Mr. WALSH. That is correct, sir.

Mrs. KELSEY. It says on the back cover: "Crosscurrents Press, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y."

I now point out that they have world domination in mind, and I would like to read you some of this.

Mr. WALSH. Would you mention the page number as you proceed.

Mrs. KELSEY. Some of it is italicized, by whom I do not know. I am quoting from page 10 of *Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*:

"Workers of all countries, unite!" *The Party regards communist construction in the U.S.S.R. as the Soviet people's great internationalist task, in keeping with the interests of the world socialist system as a whole and with the interests of the international proletariat and all mankind.*

Communism accomplishes the historic mission of delivering all men from social inequality, from every form of oppression and exploitation, from the horrors of war, and proclaims *Peace, Labor, Freedom, Equality, Fraternity and Happiness* for all peoples of the earth.

From page 11, and most of what I am reading is italicized and no one here needs to have an explanation of what we mean by that because that means calling emphasis to it.

Capitalism is the last exploiting system

We go now to page 14. I do not think Khrushchev had his shoes off here yet.

Imperialism is decaying and moribund capitalism; it is the eve of the socialist revolution. *The world capitalist system as a whole is ripe for the social revolution of the proletariat.*

Next, let us go to page 20—

The entire life of socialist society is based on the principle of broad *democracy*.

The word "democracy" is italicized.

On page 23, now we come to the high-sounding, flowing phrases:

The high road to socialism has been paved. Many peoples are already marching along it, and it will be taken sooner or later by all peoples.

On this same page:

The Soviet Union is not pursuing the tasks of communist construction alone but in fraternal community with the other socialist countries.

Now we want to go to page 33. Here they are referring to the United States. The paragraph preceding on this page also refers to the same subject.

State-monopoly capitalism stimulates militarism to an unheard-of degree. The imperialist countries maintain immense armed forces even in peacetime. Military expenditures devour an ever-growing portion of the state budgets. The imperialist countries are turning into militarist, military-police states. Militarization pervades the life of bourgeois society.

On the same page a few lines further down:

The new war being hatched by the imperialists threatens mankind with unprecedented human losses and destruction. Even the preparations for it bring suffering and privation to millions of people.

Our next quotation comes from page 35:

Taking cover behind spurious professions of freedom and democracy, U.S. imperialism is in effect performing the function of *world gendarme*, supporting reactionary dictatorial regimes and decayed monarchies, opposing democratic, revolutionary changes and launching aggressions against people fighting for independence.

The next page will be 36:

The United States, the strongest capitalist power, it past its zenith and has entered the stage of decline.

Mr. WALSH. May I interpolate at this time that most of that which you are reading is italicized for emphasis. May I call the attention of the committee to the fact that the *Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* published by the Crosscurrents Press is italicized in the same booklet published by the Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1961, which booklet was imported by World Books, 747 Broadway, New York, from the International Book Company in Moscow.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Could the witness reread that last quotation?

Mrs. KELSEY. I will be glad to.

It is page 36:

The United States, the strongest capitalist power, is past its zenith and has entered the stage of decline.

Mr. JOHANSEN. In other words, the witness we had yesterday, is for personal profit, printing and selling to the Soviet Embassy and, the Soviet Embassy, in turn, is circulating to libraries and schools, propaganda to the effect that the United States is past its zenith and is on the way to decline.

I just wanted the record to underscore the relationship between the activities for profit of the witness of yesterday and the activities of the Soviet Embassy in this type of propaganda.

Mr. WALSH. Would you continue, Mrs. Kelsey?

Mrs. KELSEY. On page 42:

The struggle for democracy is a component of the struggle for socialism.

Now I want to go over to page 48:

The rise of socialism marks the advent of the era of emancipation of the oppressed peoples.

Now to 52, also italicized:

Capitalism is the road of suffering for the people.

A few lines later on, page 53:

Socialism is the road to freedom and happiness for the peoples.

The next page is 61:

The foreign policy of the socialist countries, which is based on the principles of peace, the equality and self-determination of nations, and respect for the independence and sovereignty of all countries, as well as the fair, humane methods of socialist diplomacy, are exerting a growing influence on the world situation.

Now page 63:

The victory of socialism throughout the world will do away completely with the social and national causes of all wars. *To abolish war and establish everlasting peace on earth is a historic mission of communism.*

Page 65, again italicized:

The Soviet Union has consistently pursued, and will continue to pursue, the policy of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Page 108:

The transition to communism means the fullest extension of personal freedom and the rights of Soviet citizens.

Mr. WALSH. With your 30 years of experience as a librarian in your studies of communism, would you say that the foregoing which you have just read is rank Communistic propaganda?

Mrs. KELSEY. Definitely. It definitely is.

Mr. WALSH. And it shows the pie-in-the-sky to the unaware?

Mrs. KELSEY. It truly does.

Mr. JOHANSEN. May I make one further inquiry? Is it not true that this document is one of the documents which declares that the United States is past its zenith and is on its decline, that the circulation of that from the Soviet Embassy is made under the benefit of the subsidies of the third-class bulk rate of United States mail?

Mrs. KELSEY. That is right.

Mr. JOHANSEN. So the American taxpayer is helping subsidize the distribution of this type of propaganda?

Mrs. KELSEY. Yes, sir; and I am one of those taxpayers.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I might say so are the members of this committee.

Mr. WALSH. Would you take your next book, Volume I, entitled *Khrushchev Reports to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU* which was published by the Crosscurrents Press, New York. May I call to the attention of the committee the fact that the text of this booklet was also published, under the title *An Account to The Party and the People, Report of the C.C., C.P.S.U. to the 22nd Congress of the Party*, in Moscow by the Foreign Languages Publishing House and imported into this country by the World Books, 747 Broadway, from the International Press of Moscow.

Would you continue now, Mrs. Kelsey?

Mrs. KELSEY. I would like to say volume I contains three chapters or parts. Part 1: The Present World Situation and the International Position of the Soviet Union. Part 2: The Soviet Union Enters the

Period of Full-Scale Communist Construction. Part 3: The Leninist Party is the Organizer of the Struggle for the Victory of Communism.

Mr. JOHANSEN. What was its date?

Mr. WALSH. October 17, 1961.

Mrs. KELSEY. The following is on page 10 and every word of it is italicized; bear in mind that this is Khrushchev's speech:

The fact that it has been possible to prevent war, and that Soviet people and the peoples of other countries have been able to enjoy the benefits of peaceful life must be regarded as the chief result of the activities of our Party and its Central Committee in increasing the might of the Soviet state and in implementing a Leninist foreign policy, as a result of the work of the fraternal parties of the socialist states and the greater activity of the peace forces in all countries.

Mr. WALSH. May I interpolate again, Mr. Chairman, to the effect that this book I have before me which was published in Moscow contains on page 9 the exact quotation in italics as appear on page 10 of the other copy.

Therefore, it would appear that these publications are identical. Also that the text for each was prepared in Moscow even though one was published by Crosscurrents Press of New York City.

Mrs. KELSEY. Now here comes one of their master statements of untruths, page 11:

In the course of the peaceful competition between the two systems capitalism has suffered a profound moral defeat in the eyes of all peoples.

We go now to page 114. All that comes in between is just about the same as what I have read.

The national income per capita is increasing much more rapidly than in the highly developed capitalist countries.

It is grossly misleading because it does not have anything to say about what the income was when it started, which was at rockbottom.

Further down on page 114, do get this:

Free education, free medical services, the absence of unemployment not to mention many other benefits enjoyed under socialism, have long since become a usual thing for Soviet people, something they take for granted. These, comrades constitute the greatest gains and our people are justly proud of them. *In this sphere we have long since left the capitalist countries behind.*

Page 117, further italicized:

The abolition of taxes will be a signal social gain of the Soviet people.

That, alone, would attract some Americans, I know.

Further on the same page:

All for society, society for all—such is our hard and fast principle.

Now to page 120:

Our Party's policy is imbued with the lofty idea of Communism: *everything for the sake of man for the benefit of man.*

On page 125, Khrushchev makes this statement:

* * * Werner von Braun, the German rocket specialist now working in the U.S., has had to admit that the Russians have created, on the basis of their philosophy, a system which assures them these successes, and that, unfortunately, the system he is living under does not make it possible to achieve the successes scored by Russia. He could not have put it better, comrades.

Now let us turn to page 135, some more italics:

Of all the values created by the socialist system, the greatest one is the new man—the active builder of communism. The Soviet people are demonstrating what the really free man is capable of.

Now I would like to go along to page 190, and the reason I am skipping that much is because he just goes along saying the same thing in another way.

At the bottom of page 190, here comes the peace doves again—floating around up above:

Long live world peace!

Under the all-conquering banner of Marxism-Leninism, under the leadership of the Communist Party—forward to the triumph of communism!

Mr. WALSH. You have just read from Volume I of *Khrushchev Reports to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU*. In your opinion, would you say this book is rank Communistic propaganda from your 30 years of experience?

Mrs. KELSEY. I would say it is definitely rank Communistic propaganda, and I would like to go on record as saying that.

Mr. JOHANSEN. The witness is not at all surprised that this is rank propaganda in view of the fact that it presently comes from the present fountainhead of communism.

Mrs. KELSEY. No, I am not surprised. I am just incensed.

Mr. WALSH. Would you take Volume II, *Khrushchev on the Future*, which was published by the Crosscurrents Press, New York, sent to the Soviet Embassy and disseminated by them.

Mrs. KELSEY. This volume has seven chapters or parts. Part 1: The Historic Victories of Socialism; Part 2: Communism—the Great Goal of the Party and the People; Part 3: From Socialist to Communist Economy; Part 4: Development of Communist Socialist Relations and the Molding of the New Man; Part 5: Communism and Mankind's Progress; Part 6: Results of the Discussion of the Draft Program; Part 7: The Party in the Period of Full-Scale Communist Construction.

The first quotation comes on page 8, also italicized:

The Communists have entered history as the greatest creative force, a force transforming and renewing the world.

Mr. WALSH. May I also note for the record that in the book that was published in Moscow from which Mrs. Kelsey is reading, on page 8, the same statement is italicized, and at the end “(Prolonged applause).” I believe that was deleted in your book.

Mrs. KELSEY. That is right; it was.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Was this an address that was delivered by Khrushchev?

Mr. WALSH. Yes; on October 17, 1961.

Mrs. KELSEY. These two books make up the address.

Mr. WALSH. You are referring to Volume I and Volume II.

Mrs. KELSEY. That is right; Volume I and Volume II make up the address.

Page 12:

In the social sphere the Party has realized the age-long hopes of the masses. All forms of oppression of man by man have been wiped out.

May I repeat. “All forms of oppression of man by man have been wiped out.”

Two quotations from page 13:

The man-hating ideas nurtured by private ownership have receded into the past.

The Party has solved *the problem of relations between nations*, a most complicated problem that has troubled mankind for centuries and persists to this day in

the capitalist world. * * * The Soviet Union is known as the fraternal family of peoples, a country where nations live in friendship and flourish.

My next page is 18:

The new system has ensured high rates of development of the productive forces, steadily rising living standards for the working people, freedom from exploitation, and broad social and political rights for the individual.

Page 21:

* * * it should be noted that the *economic instability of capitalism has increased sharply and the uneven development of some countries in relation to others has become far more marked* * * *. Economic crises are becoming more frequent, especially in the United States. War production has become a permanent element of the economy. Militarism has swelled to enormous proportions.

On page 22, and still italicized:

The political instability of world capitalism has increased, * * *

On page 31, speaking of their Communist program:

The draft Program is a document of true communist humanism; it is imbued with the ideas of peace and fraternity among nations.

Now page 37:

What does it mean to build communism in the main? It means that: in the *economic* sphere the material and technical basis of communism will be created, the Soviet Union will surpass the economic level of the most developed capitalist countries and move into first place for production per head of the population, the world's highest living standard will be ensured, and all the pre-conditions created to attain an abundance of material and cultural values; * * *

Now let us go to page 43:

In twenty years Soviet industry will produce nearly twice as much as is now produced in the whole nonsocialist world.

We go now to page 83, because the pages in between are practically a continuation of what I have just read to you.

By the end of the first ten years all sections of Soviet people will enjoy plenty and will be well provided for.

Page 83, further down:

For the first time in history insufficiency will be fully and finally eliminated. This will be an imposing achievement of the new society. No capitalist country can set itself this task.

Now I go to page 89:

Full maintenance, at public expense, of all persons unfit for labor will be provided at the same time.

Page 90:

Rent-free modern housing and free basic communal services for every family will be a wonderful achievement of communist construction.

I can see that particular American element that this might appeal to, too.

Page 112:

Our ideological opponents keep vociferating that capitalism is a free world and try to discredit our socialist democracy in every way. But the truth about socialist democracy, the finest democracy on earth, cannot be concealed. After all, it is an incontestable fact that the socialist world is steadily and consistently developing and extending democracy, while the capitalist world is abridging and curtailing what stunted democracy there is in bourgeois society.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Would the witness believe that that explains the substantial exodus from East Berlin to West Berlin prior to the

building of the wall, this superior democracy that they have in the Communist regime in East Germany?

Mrs. KELSEY. It could explain some of it; it certainly could.

Let us take a look at page 119. I have already used the expression "masterpiece of untruth." Well, let me use it again:

Communism ennobles man. *Communism is the supreme flowering of humanity and of the individual.*

Page 120:

The bourgeoisie associates the freedom of the individual with private property. But millions of people in the capitalist countries have no property, and to them bourgeois property is not an earnest of freedom, but a heavy burden. To the petty proprietor property is not a condition for the development of the individual; rather, it is a chain that keeps him fully dependent on monopoly capital.

Page 123:

For over a hundred years bourgeois ideologists have been accusing the Communists of negating morals, of undermining the moral pillars of society. The bourgeoisie needs this falsehood to cover up its own immorality.

Page 125 and continued on page 126:

People who say that the significance of the family lessens during the transition to communism, and that it disappears entirely with time, are absolutely wrong. In fact, the family will grow stronger under communism. Completely disencumbered of material considerations, family relations will become very pure and lasting.

Now, page 128:

Socialist and communist culture is the new, the highest, stage in man's cultural development. We have all the necessary conditions to scale successfully the summits of communist culture.

On page 130, and this one made me laugh:

Some people say that figures are dull. But the figures reflecting the growth of our system are pleasant to quote and, I think, pleasant to hear. I remember that in my young days we used to sing a song, "Our steam locomotive is speeding forward, bound for communism." Today we and the entire socialist system are speeding forward not on a steam locomotive but on a powerful electric locomotive. There can be no doubt that our socialist express will overtake and leave the train of capitalism far behind. Capitalism has neither the strength nor the hauling power.

Page 134:

In the present epoch more *favorable international conditions* have arisen for the development of the world revolutionary movement, due mainly to the consolidation of the forces and the growth of the influence of the socialist system. The example set by socialism is exerting a powerful influence on people's minds, making them active fighters for the establishment of a new system.

A few sentences from the next paragraph:

In the present epoch *internal conditions* for the transition of new countries to socialism have also become more favorable. Among these conditions are the general weakening of capitalism, and the deepening of its contradictions.

Now we go to page 142:

The experience of history has shown that war goes hand in hand with imperialism in the same way as the struggle against imperialism and the policy of the consolidation of peace is inherent in socialism. Human memory cannot forget the events inscribed in the annals of history not in ink but in the blood of millions. From the time the U.S.A. unleashed the first war of the epoch of imperialism in 1898, imperialism has let loose upon the peoples an unbroken series of "local wars," and has twice hurled mankind into world holocausts of unparalleled fury. Moreover, the ruins of towns and cities were still smouldering and the wounded

hearts of millions who had lost relatives in the Second World War had not yet healed when the U.S. imperialists were already showing themselves eager to plunge into a third world war.

In the imperialist camp, and first and foremost in the U.S.A., groups are operating who behave like gamblers. They give no thought to the calamity that the new war they are hatching would bring mankind.

On page 143:

the Soviet Union, the mightiest power of today, is directing all its efforts towards the preservation and consolidation of world peace.

Mr. WALSH. From your 30 years of experience and from your studies of Marxism-Leninism, would you classify the excerpts from the books you have read pure Communist propaganda?

Mrs. KELSEY. I would so classify it as purest Communist propaganda of the most harmful sort.

Mr. WALSH. If these three books, the excerpts from which you have read, got into the hands of these three groups you have previously mentioned, would they bring the poison of communism to these groups?

Mrs. KELSEY. I very much think that would be the case.

Mr. WALSH. After studying Marxism-Leninism, is it your opinion that if these groups read these quotations and read the books, would that be harmful to the internal security of this country?

Mrs. KELSEY. I think it definitely would be harmful to the internal security of our country.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, I have no other questions of this witness at this time unless she would like to make a statement.

Mrs. KELSEY. May I?

Mr. WILLIS. You may proceed.

Mrs. KELSEY. I am quoting from this little leaflet. "You are Challenged to Consider National Goals." The opening sentence says:

Consider the aims outlined by the President's Commission on National Goals "to preserve and enlarge our own liberties, to meet a deadly menace and to extend the areas of freedom throughout the world." These are high and difficult goals. Yet our past performance justifies the confidence that they can be achieved if every American will accept personal responsibility for them.

I would like to read, too, what I wrote in the margins when I received this leaflet:

How can we achieve this with the constant flow of red-hot liquid coming from that pipeline from Moscow?

Mr. WALSH. Are there any questions by the committee?

Mr. WILLIS. I believe not.

Mr. WALSH. The committee's investigation has disclosed, Mr. Chairman, that these booklets from which Mrs. Kelsey has just read excerpts were mailed by the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., not only to Mrs. Kelsey's library in Shelby, North Carolina, but to every public and private library in the United States, including the hospital libraries of the United States Veterans' Administration.

Mr. WILLIS. I want to compliment you for coming before this committee and giving us the benefit of your long years of experience in this very serious threat to our Republic and we are grateful to you for coming to us. We appreciate your forthright and valuable statement.

Mrs. KELSEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Someone has said that "courage is fear that has said its prayers."

Mr. TUCK. I would like to say the chairman has full authority to speak for the entire committee, but I would like to make it affirmatively known that I want my name associated with the statement which he has just made.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I certainly want to do likewise.

Mr. WALSH. I have no further questions.

Mr. WILLIS. Thank you.

The witness is excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. WILLIS. This will conclude the hearings today.

The subcommittee is recessed subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 11:45 a.m., Thursday, May 10, 1962, the hearings in the above-entitled matter were recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)

COMMUNIST OUTLETS FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

PART 1

THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1962

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:35 a.m. in the Caucus Room, Old House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. William M. Tuck presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana, chairman; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; and August E. Johansen, of Michigan.

Subcommittee members present: Representatives William M. Tuck and August E. Johansen.

Committee members also present: Representatives Donald C. Bruce, of Indiana, and Henry C. Schadeberg, of Wisconsin.

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., director; Alfred M. Nittle, counsel; John C. Walsh, cocounsel; and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

Mr. Tuck. The committee will come to order.

I have a statement here I have prepared and which I will now read.

The hearing this morning is a continuation of the hearings of the Committee on Un-American Activities held on May 9 and 10, 1962.

The subcommittee authorized to conduct these hearings consists of Representatives William M. Tuck, August E. Johansen, and Edwin E. Willis, as chairman.

Chairman Willis is not able to be present this morning, and I am acting in his stead, and a quorum is present in the persons of Congressman Johansen and myself.

Because some of the witnesses called before the Committee on Un-American Activities today were not present on May 9, I desire for their information to read the resolution which sets forth the subject and legislative purposes of these hearings:

BE IT RESOLVED, that hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities, or a subcommittee thereof, be held in Washington, D.C., or at such other place or places as the Chairman may designate, and at such time or times as the Chairman may determine, relating to the publishing, printing and distribution of Communist propaganda material that is instigated from foreign countries or is of a domestic origin, the legislative purposes of which are:

1. To strengthen the provisions of Section 10 of the Internal Security Act of 1950 so as to broaden the application of such section to cover persons, firms,

associations and corporations engaged in the printing, publishing and dissemination of Soviet propaganda;

2. To assist Congress, through the Committee's legislative oversight duties, in appraising the administration of laws relating to the introduction and dissemination of Communist propaganda within the United States; and

3. To consider and act upon clauses (c) and (d) of Section 312 of Title 3, H.R. 6, introduced by Representative Walter on January 3, 1961, and referred to this Committee as part of H.R. 6, said clauses constituting proposed amendments of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the action of the Chairman in issuing subpoenas for the appearance of Myron Sharpe, in his individual capacity, and as president of Crosscurrents Press, Inc., be, and the same is hereby ratified and approved.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Committee, or any subcommittee thereof, be authorized to investigate and hear any other matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee which it, or any subcommittee thereof, appointed to conduct these hearings, may designate.

Are you ready to proceed, Counsel?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Myron E. Sharpe, please.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Sharpe, will you stand and raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SHARPE. I do.

Mr. TUCK. You may be seated.

I may add also for the record that, in addition to the associate members of the subcommittee, we have also present with us two other members of the Committee on Un-American Activities, the gentleman from Wisconsin, Mr. Schadeberg, and the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Bruce.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF MYRON EMANUEL SHARPE—Resumed

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Sharpe, you were served a subpoena on April 11, 1962, and you appeared on May the 9th in this room before the committee. I asked you as president of Crosscurrents Press, Inc., to produce all books of accounts and/or records reflecting all receipts of money by Crosscurrents, Inc., 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York, from September 1st.

Mr. TUCK. Counsel, excuse me. I believe before you get into the substance of the examination, it might be better if you would let the record show that the witness is represented by counsel.

Mr. WALSH. I will be very happy to. Would counsel please identify herself?

Mrs. PIEL. Eleanor Jackson Piel, 342 Madison Avenue, New York.

Mr. WALSH. And you appeared on May 9 before the committee, and I then asked you to present to the committee that which was called for in the subpoena which I had read to you and which was served upon you, and to which you responded as a witness to this committee.

You at that time produced several deposit receipts or customer's receipts on stationery of Crosscurrents Press, Inc., 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y., and a statement of moneys received from the Embassy of the U.S.S.R., Washington, D.C.

On the same day—and I read to you from page 103 of the record as of that date—I stated as follows:

You list here reports of money received from the Embassy of the U.S.S.R. in Washington, D.C. From what books of account did you compile these figures? (Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. Crosscurrents Press has a cashbook and a general ledger which contains exactly the same information about receipts as that submitted. It contains no additional information about receipts.

Now, I now ask you to produce, which you did not do on May 9th, the cashbook and the general ledger of Crosscurrents Press, Inc., by you and in your representative capacity as president of that corporation.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. There are certain records which I am going to give to the committee, and there are certain records which I am withholding from the committee. I would like to state my reasons for so doing, if I may.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Witness, are you directing yourself to your refusal to present to the committee that which was called for in the subpoena which I have just read to you, the cashbook and the general ledger, which you admitted having in your possession or in the possession of the corporation on May 9, 1962?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I am producing these records in response to the subpoena presented to me at my last appearance.

Mr. WALSH. I am asking you specifically: Have you produced the cashbook and the general ledger which you said you had in your possession in your representative capacity as president of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. These are photostated copies of the pages in response to the subpoena.

Mr. WALSH. I did not ask you that. I asked you whether or not you are now producing the cashbook and the general ledger?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I would like to make my statement of explanation as to what I am producing and what I am not producing, and my ground for so doing, if I may, now.

Mr. WALSH. Would you answer specifically that question which I have just asked you? Are you producing at the present time, in pursuance to the subpoena that was served on you, the cashbook and the general ledger of Crosscurrents Press, Inc., in your representative capacity as president of that corporation?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. Well, I have brought copies of records in response to the subpoena.

Mr. WALSH. I asked you, specifically, have you produced the cashbook and the general ledger, pursuant to the subpoena which was served upon you, which you did not produce on May 9; and I am asking you now to produce those books which you said you had—the Crosscurrents Press had—a cashbook and a general ledger—on May 9. It shows that they were in your possession as of that date.

I am asking you now, specifically: Have you produced the cashbook and the general ledger?

Mr. TUCK. The witness is ordered and directed to categorically answer the question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. The book itself is not here, but these are copies of—photocopies of the pages which I was asked to produce in response to the subpoena, with certain exceptions which I have withheld, which I would like to explain and state the ground for withholding.

Mr. WALSH. In other words, you have refused to present to this committee that which was called for in the subpoena to which you responded on May 9, the cashbook and the general ledger, and which you admitted having in your possession on May 9.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I have not refused. I have complied with the subpoena, insofar as it is proper.

Mr. WALSH. Let me ask you this question: Have you produced the cashbook and the general ledger of Crosscurrents Press, Inc., at this time?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I have produced photocopies of pages from my books.

Mr. TUCK. We ask you now to produce the cashbook and general ledger as you are ordered to do under the subpoena.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to do so on the following grounds—

Mr. TUCK. Well, now, I will say to the witness that we are not prepared this morning to subject ourselves to any stump speech. We have no objection to the witness stating briefly his reason for not producing the books and filing any kind of statement with the committee in order to make up the record.

You may proceed.

Mr. SHARPE. Well, I will state as briefly as I can the grounds—

Mr. WALSH. Before you continue, to keep the record straight, you say you refuse to produce the cashbook. Do you also, in your explanation, refuse to submit the general ledger of Crosscurrents Press, Inc., in your representative capacity as president of Crosscurrents Press, Inc.?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. May I respond to the chairman before answering that question?

Mr. TUCK. Yes, you may respond to my question.

Mr. SHARPE. I have a statement which I would like to submit in the record and which I will not read.

Mr. TUCK. We will be glad to accept the statement.

Mr. SHARPE. I will simply say in the statement my grounds for declining to produce certain records, if I may.

Mr. WALSH. Referring specifically to the cashbook and the general ledger of Crosscurrents Press, Inc.?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. If I may respond, I will tell you.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Well now, Mr. Chairman, it seems to me the record ought to establish what the specific items are that he is declining to produce, before he states his alleged reasons for so declining. And I am not satisfied that the record establishes, in response to counsel's question, the specific items that he is refusing to produce.

Mr. SHARPE. I believe that in my response I will indicate specifically what I am producing and what I am declining to produce, if I may.

Mr. TUCK. Will you now state succinctly what it is you are producing, in compliance with the subpoena, and then state succinctly what it is you decline or refuse to produce?

Mr. WALSH. May I interrupt at this time, Mr. Chairman? There was another subpoena served upon him on May 9 to produce, in addition thereto, other books. I was intending to come to that later. I am now confining myself strictly to the subpoena that was served upon him and to which he responded on May 9, which called for all books of accounts, as I have previously stated.

I also referred to the record of May 9 in which he said he had the cashbook and the ledger. I am now confining myself strictly to that one question, whether or not he has or has not produced the cashbook and the general ledger of Crosscurrents Press, Inc.?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. TUCK. Well, we have asked him. The counsel has asked the witness, and members of the committee have asked the witness, to produce the cashbook, the cash accounts book. And I understood the witness to say that he refused to produce that book.

Mr. SHARPE. That is correct, sir.

Mr. WALSH. You refuse to produce the cashbook and the general ledger of Crosscurrents Press, Incorporated, at this time?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I have produced photocopies of pages of the cashbook.

Mr. WALSH. I did not ask you that question, Mr. Witness.

Mr. SHARPE. If I may, if I can answer, it will save a lot of time, and you will find out what I have produced and what I have not produced.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Chairman, would you direct the witness to answer that specific question?

Mr. TUCK. I direct the witness to answer the specific question propounded to you by counsel.

Mr. SHARPE. Would you repeat the question?

Mr. WALSH. Have you produced today the cashbook and the general ledger of Crosscurrents Press, Inc., in your representative capacity as president of Crosscurrents Press, Inc.?

Mr. SHARPE. As I said before, I have not produced these books themselves.

Mr. TUCK. Will you now produce them? We order you now to produce them.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. Would the chairman please explain the relevancy of the books as opposed to photocopies of the books?

Mr. WALSH. Under the subpoena, you are supposed to produce all books of accounts, and you admitted that you had in your possession on May 9 the cashbook and the general ledger. The chairman has directed you to produce those books at this time.

The question propounded to you is whether or not you will produce those books, which were in your possession as of May 9, 1962.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. Well, if I may explain, now, what I have done and why I have done it—

Mr. WALSH. Well, answer the question, first, and then any reasonable explanation that you care to give will be very happily received by this committee.

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to produce the original books for the following reasons, and they are contained in the following explanation.

I have been subpoenaed to appear before this committee as president of Crosscurrents Press and editor and publisher of International Arts and Sciences Press, and ordered to produce certain records which are described in the subpoena—in two subpoenas which you gave me last Wednesday, May the 9th.

Mr. WALSH. Now I notice that the statements are rather long, consisting of many pages. I suggest, as the witness suggested before, that he file that statement with the committee but, at this time, present his legal reasons for not producing the books.

Mr. TUCK. Will you file the statement of the witness with the clerk of the committee.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. Well, I am giving my legal reasons for declining to produce certain documents.

Mr. WALSH. Specifically the cashbook and the general ledger.

Mr. SHARPE. The committee has already learned through the records in its possession, which I have scrupulously filed with the Department of Justice, that pursuant to an understanding of the Soviet corporation I published certain books and pamphlets which I feel would be of interest to libraries, students, and American readers concerned with developments in the Soviet Union.

Mr. WALSH. I may interject an objection to this. That is not a legal reason for not producing the books. I ask that the witness be directed to state his legal reasons, and to file that statement with the committee.

Mr. TUCK. I previously stated to the witness that we would be glad to hear from him briefly, orally, as to his additional reasons for not producing the documents that he was ordered to produce in the subpoena. I have advised the witness that any statement which he has may be filed with the committee, to be made a part of the record in this case.

I now ask the witness to file the statement, and suggest to the witness that he file the statement with the committee, if he wishes, and also suggest to him that he may now, if he wishes, give any statement of the legal grounds as to why he has not produced the records and books that he was ordered to produce in the subpoena which was originally served upon him, specifically, the cashbook and the general ledger.

Mr. SHARPE. Mr. Chairman, I will respond directly to your question.

I have brought with me exact photostatic copies of my books of accounts and records, revealing in detail the amounts received by Crosscurrents Press from date of its formation to the present date.

However, I have intentionally blanked out the names of persons and associations who have not purchased my publications in quantity or who are obviously not distributors of my publications. I have done so for six basic reasons.

One: The first amendment guarantees the right to be free from governmental interference in the area of association, speech, and the

press. The subpoena invades my freedom as a publisher by requiring the identification of my readers, and it invades the freedom of my readers by forcing disclosure of their identity.

Two: It is inconceivable to me that there could be any legislative purpose which could be served by revealing the names of the individuals who have purchased individual copies of the books and pamphlets which I have published.

Three: Nor is the identification of single-copy purchasers of my publications pertinent to the subject of the committee's investigation.

Four: A subpoena requiring the compulsory identification of my readers would constitute an unreasonable search and seizure, in violation of the fourth amendment.

Five: There is a property right in the exclusive use of these names, which I assert as a publisher. Since the names of these customers have a monetary value, the subpoena deprives me of property without due process of law under the fifth amendment.

Six: Finally, the purpose behind the request for such names can only be the exposure and injury of the persons who have chosen, for whatever reason, to read this material, and I know that exposure alone is not a proper legislative purpose.

Justice Brennan, of the United States Supreme Court, stated in a dissenting opinion.

Mr. TUCK. You are arguing now. You can file that statement. You have stated your legal grounds.

Mr. SHARPE. Right, then may I complete the grounds themselves?

Mr. TUCK. I understood that you had finished the legal grounds. You may file your arguments.

Mr. SHARPE. I stated the grounds in connection with the receipts, and now I would like to complete my statement in connection with disbursements.

Mr. WALSH. We will come to that later. I am specifically referring now to the subpoena which was served to you on April the 11th, and to which you responded as president of Crosscurrents Press. Are they the legal reasons on which you refuse to produce the cashbook and the general ledger?

Mr. TUCK. I will inform the witness that the Chair expressly rejects the reasons which you have just stated and, as chairman of the subcommittee, I now order and direct you to produce the specific documents adverted to by counsel in his question which he has recently propounded to you.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I stand on the grounds which I previously stated, and I have submitted photostatic copies of the records as described by me in my statement.

Mr. TUCK. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. WALSH. On May the 9th in this room, before the committee, you were served with another subpoena in your capacity as president, Crosscurrents Press, Inc. And you were then directed by this committee, according to the subpoena, to produce all books and records described more fully on three typewritten pages thereto attached and made a part of the subpoena.

You received such a subpoena on May 9, did you not?

Mr. SHARPE. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. The subpoena reads as follows:

All original books of accounts and/or records of Crosscurrents Press, Inc., * * * reflecting:

1. The names of persons, associations, firms and corporations from whom money was received by Crosscurrents Press, Inc., from September 1, 1959, to date, as evidenced by records and receipts of deposit produced before a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, in the Caucus Room of the House of Representatives by you, on May 9, 1962, * * *;

2. The names of persons, associations, firms and corporations other than those furnished under the preceding paragraph, from whom money was received by Crosscurrents Press, Inc., from September 1, 1959, to date; and

3. The names of persons, associations, firms and corporations to whom payments were made by or on behalf of Crosscurrents Press, Inc., from September 1, 1959, to date, together with canceled checks evidencing such payments for printing and/or publishing the following documents:

There are then listed 33 publications which you admitted were printed by Crosscurrents Press, Inc., as evidenced by statements which you have filed with the Department of Justice, pursuant to law, in your capacity as an agent for a foreign principal.

I now ask you whether or not you have produced the names of persons, associations, firms, and corporations to whom payments were made by, or on behalf of, Crosscurrents Press from September 1, 1959, to date, together with the canceled checks evidencing such payments for printing and/or publishing the documents listed in the subpoena? Have you produced that?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. In response to the subpoena duces tecum, I have produced copies of records of disbursements as listed in the subpoena and copies of canceled checks of these disbursements.

Mr. WALSH. On May 9, when you appeared at this hearing as a witness, in your representative capacity as president of Crosscurrents Press, you did have the cashbook and general ledger in your possession. Is that correct? On May 9?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. In response to the duces tecum subpoena, I indicated then that I had control over these records, and I do so now.

Mr. WALSH. What other books of account have you got, besides the cashbook and the general ledger, original books of accounts, which you keep for your corporation, Crosscurrents Press, Inc.?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. To the best of my knowledge, no other records.

Mr. WALSH. You are president of the corporation, are you not?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on the ground which I stated at the previous hearing, which I will be glad to repeat, if necessary.

Mr. WALSH. It is not necessary, but as president of the corporation, do you not know what original books of accounts you have, other than that which you admitted you had on May 9, 1962, to wit, the cashbook and the general ledger?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. Well, I believe I had already answered that question.

Mr. WALSH. I ask the chairman to direct the witness to answer.

Mr. TUCK. The witness is ordered and directed to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. To the best of my knowledge, I believe that we do not have any other original records.

Mr. WALSH. But you admit that on May 9, 1962, you did have in your possession the cashbook and the general ledger?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I stated that I had it under—had them under my control. I did not have them here, but I had them under my control.

Mr. WALSH. They are still in existence, though?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I decline to answer that question on my previously stated grounds.

Mr. WALSH. Do you invoke the fifth amendment as you previously did because an answer would tend to incriminate you?

Mr. SHARPE. Not according to my memory of what I said before.

Mr. WALSH. In addition to the other, the first amendment, and the other grounds?

Mr. SHARPE. That was not my definition of the fifth amendment; that was yours.

Mr. WALSH. You stated all of the grounds under—and I specifically ask you now, Is the reason that you refuse to answer this, that it may tend to incriminate you if you do answer that question?

Mr. SHARPE. The reason that I decline to answer the question is on the grounds of the first amendment, which includes freedom of the press; the fourth amendment, which precludes illegal search and seizure; and the fifth amendment, which prohibits committees from stepping over a line which invades the rights of the individual.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Counsel, is the witness invoking that portion of the fifth amendment which relates to self-incrimination, among the other reasons?

Mr. SHARPE. I am invoking all of the fifth amendment, with all of its provisions.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Sharpe, you were also served a subpoena on May 9 in this committee room addressed to Myron E. Sharpe, editor and publisher of International Arts and Sciences Press, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York. It called for all books of accounts and/or records described and more fully set forth on the typewritten pages thereto attached and by reference made a part of this subpoena; and I read them:

All books of accounts and/or records of International Arts and Sciences Press, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York, reflecting:

1. The names of persons, associations, firms and corporations, from whom money was received by International Arts and Sciences Press, for printing, publishing and/or distribution of the following documents:

And there are then six publications which are listed and which you listed as being published by the International Arts and Sciences in the statement that you filed with the Department of Justice.

2. The names of persons, associations, firms and corporations to whom payments were made by or on behalf of International Arts and Sciences Press, and/or Crosscurrents Press Inc., together with canceled checks evidencing such payments, for printing, publishing and/or distributing the documents listed in the preceding paragraph.

Have you produced such books?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. In response to this subpoena, I have brought copies of my ledger books, revealing all pertinent information concerning receipts on the same basis as set forth above with regard to Crosscurrents Press, and, for the reasons already set forth, have refused to divulge the identity of individuals or entities who have not purchased publications in quantity.

Mr. WALSH. Have you any documents which you have produced for the International Arts and Sciences Press?

Mr. SHARPE. I have not finished my response.

Mr. WALSH. I am sorry.

Mr. SHARPE. I have further brought copies of the records to whom payments were made on behalf of International Arts and Sciences Press and Crosscurrents Press for printing and publishing of the same. I have blanked out my records insofar as they indicated matters not relevant to the committee's inquiry.

Mr. TUCK. Have you complied with the subpoena that was served upon you?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I have complied with it in every way that I believe to be proper.

Mr. TUCK. In other words, you have put your own construction, rather than the construction of the committee?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I have complied with it in a way which I consider proper. Any person has to construe a subpoena according to his ability.

Mr. TUCK. The Chair now orders and directs you to produce the cashbooks.

Mr. SHARPE. I have already tendered photocopies of the material which you previously described.

Mr. TUCK. And you refuse to comply with the order.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. SHARPE. I am not refusing to comply with the subpoena. I would be happy to read, to state again my reasons for not giving the names of individuals.

Mr. TUCK. We are familiar with the legal grounds which you have stated. And you now refuse to produce?

Go ahead, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. WALSH. In view of the fact that the committee has ruled that this is not a compliance with the terms of the subpoenas, number one, the subpoena pursuant to which he appeared on May 9, 1962, and the two subpoenas that were served on him—one in his representative capacity as president of Crosscurrents Press, Inc., returnable today, and also as Myron E. Sharpe, editor and publisher of International Arts and Sciences Press, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York—he has not complied, and the Chair has so ruled, and I, therefore, have no further questions to ask him.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. TUCK. Do the members of the committee have any questions?

Mr. JOHANSEN. No questions.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. No questions.

Mr. SHARPE. I would like the record to show what I have submitted. I have submitted records of receipts, including all figures to the best of my knowledge of receipts of Crosscurrents Press, includ-

ing distributors, wholesalers, and excluding only individual buyers, and the same applied in pursuance to the subpoena duces tecum for receipts of International Arts and Sciences Press.

With regard to disbursements, I have supplied all copies of records of disbursements pursuant to the two subpoenas which I received on May 9.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, I think the record is abundantly clear that the witness has produced what he saw fit to produce and has, therefore, not complied with the subpoena.

Mr. TUCK. And has refused.

Mr. JOHANSEN. And, therefore, has refused to comply.

Mr. WALSH. These records which you have presented to the committee, in your conception of compliance with the committee, which the committee does not accept, will be studied by the committee; and I would ask that the Chair direct the witness to remain under subpoena so that, if necessary, we can question him later with reference to that which he has produced.

But we do not admit that this is a compliance with the terms of the subpoena as served upon him and about which I have just finished questioning him.

Mr. TUCK. The witness may stand aside temporarily, but he will remain under the control of the subpoena.

Mr. SHARPE. I understand you want me to remain here today, then? Is that correct?

Mr. WALSH. That is correct.

Mr. TUCK. Remain here until later on.

Mr. SHARPE. I would like to submit my statement for the record, if I may.

Mr. TUCK. The statement will be filed.

Counsel, call the next witness.¹

AFTERNOON SESSION—THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1962

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:20 p.m., Hon. William M. Tuck presiding.)

Mr. TUCK. The committee will please come to order.

Is Mr. Sharpe in the room?

Mr. WALSH. Will both he and his counsel come up?

TESTIMONY OF MYRON EMANUEL SHARPE—Resumed

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Sharpe, I have a statement to make. The staff has not had sufficient time, in view of the recess, to adequately study the material which you brought. They offer the opinion that the material which you submitted is not in compliance with the subpoena of the committee.

However, they want to look at it further, and we are going to continue your subpoena, but release you today, and you are summoned for the record to appear back here on June 14th at 10 a.m. in this same room.

Mrs. PIEL. That date is very inconvenient for me. I wonder if we could put it over until July?

Mr. TUCK. You will have to take it up with the committee.

Mrs. PIEL. I will be in touch with you.

¹ The testimony of the next 2 witnesses, Allan Markoff and Serge P. Ushakoff, is printed in pt. 2, pp. 1700-1715.

Mr. SHARPE. So your date is June the 14th?

Mr. TUCK. June the 14th at 10 a.m. You take it up with the committee.

Mr. SHARPE. 10 a.m.

Mr. WALSH. Thank you.

(Witness excused.)¹

Mr. TUCK. Call your next witness.²

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Felshin.

Mr. TUCK. Will you stand and raise your right hand?

Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FELSHIN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH FELSHIN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, DAVID M. FREEDMAN

Mr. WALSH. Would you state your full name, Mr. Felshin.

Mr. FELSHIN. Joseph, J-o-s-e-p-h, Felshin, F-e-l-s-h-i-n.

Mr. WALSH. And would your counsel please identify himself, also?

Mr. FREEDMAN. David M. Freedman, F-r-e-e-d-m-a-n, 320 Broadway, New York City.

Mr. WALSH. And where do you live, Mr. Felshin?

Mr. FELSHIN. Far Rockaway, New York.

Mr. WALSH. I hand you a certificate of incorporation, which was filed with the Department of State in New York, and ask you to look at that and tell me whether or not that is your corporation and were you one of the incorporators?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. FELSHIN. Right, it is.

Mr. WALSH. Is that your signature?

Mr. FELSHIN. I am sure it is the signature.

Mr. WALSH. On the back page—you were one of the incorporators?

Mr. FELSHIN. Right.

Mr. WALSH. Are the other two gentlemen whose names also appear there still directors of that corporation?

Mr. FELSHIN. No.

Mr. WALSH. Who are the directors at the present time?

Mr. FELSHIN. Mr. I. Gabin, and myself.

Mr. WALSH. G-a-b-i-n?

Mr. FELSHIN. G-a-b-i-n, and myself, that is all. Just two directors.

(Document marked "Felshin Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. In your capacity as president of the New Era Book & Subscription Agency, Inc., you were served with a subpoena to appear here and produce certain contracts. Without reading it at this time, have you done so?

Mr. FELSHIN. There are no such contracts, for the simple reason that I don't import anything. I don't import books or pamphlets.

Mr. WALSH. Well, what do you do?

Mr. FELSHIN. I publish and distribute.

¹ Further appearance of witness cancelled by action of the committee.

² The testimony of Serge P. Ushakoff (resumed), Margaret Cowl, and Philip Frankfeld, is printed in pt. 2, pp. 1715-1750.

Mr. WALSH. Well, do you receive any publications from agents who do import books from the Soviet Union?

Mr. FELSHIN. In the last few weeks, I made a purchase for the first time of 10,000 copies of the *Program [of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union]* that you refer to, the Program of the 22d Congress, and so forth—

Mr. WALSH. From whom?

Mr. FELSHIN. From—

Mr. WALSH. From Crosscurrents—

Mr. FELSHIN. Crosscurrents.

Mr. WALSH. —Press, Incorporated?

Mr. FELSHIN. Right. And when I received the subpoena, which indicated to me that you were interested or concerned with not only importing, but buying, from registered agents of other countries, I called up Crosscurrents and canceled the sale.

Mr. WALSH. With whom did you speak?

Mr. FELSHIN. I don't know.

Mr. WALSH. Was it Myron Sharpe?

Mr. FELSHIN. It might have been, but I don't know. I spoke to somebody there and left word that we wanted to cancel this sale.

Mr. WALSH. In order to show you that we do not base our questions on frivolous conjectures, I show you a dissemination report of the Crosscurrents Press, Inc., which was filed on April the 2d of 1962, and I ask you to look at the fifth item down, which states, "New Era Book Agency, New York, N.Y. 10,000 [copies]." I hand that document to you. It has been marked previously Sharpe Exhibit No. 37 for reference and is already in evidence.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. FELSHIN. Yes. Well, that is what I told you about, 10,000 copies. I just told you about that, right?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, I understand, but I want you to know that we do not base our questions—

Mr. FELSHIN. Yes, I assumed that.

Mr. WALSH. You said you canceled the order.

Mr. FELSHIN. That is right.

Mr. WALSH. But, according to this dissemination report, 10,000 copies had already been sent to you?

Mr. FELSHIN. That is right. They are on my floor and they are going to be sent back. I didn't sell one of them.

Mr. WALSH. How long have you had them?

Mr. FELSHIN. Oh, possibly 3 weeks, 2 weeks, something like that.

Mr. WALSH. Would you tell the committee the reasons why you purchased these books in the first instance, or ordered the books?

Mr. FELSHIN. Because it was a damned good bargain. It was 50 cents a copy—the printed retail price was 50 cents a copy—and I got them for a penny apiece. So it was a good price.

Mr. WALSH. Did you have any correspondence or negotiations with anybody in Crosscurrents Press that you could obtain these copies for a penny apiece?

Mr. FELSHIN. Well, I heard that someone else, that they had been offered to someone else, so I called up and said I was interested in buying a quantity and I made a deal over the phone.

Mr. WALSH. With whom?

Mr. FELSHIN. I believe it was Mr. Sharpe.

Mr. WALSH. Who was the person that told you that you could purchase these for a penny apiece?

Mr. FELSHIN. I will have to take the fifth on that.

Mr. WALSH. And by "the fifth" you mean what?

Mr. FELSHIN. I don't want to make any statement that might be used to hurt me, injure me, in any way.

Mr. WALSH. In other words, that may incriminate you?

Mr. FELSHIN. That is right.

Mr. WALSH. Now will you tell to the committee how this corporation, the New Era Book & Subscription Agency, was formed and the purpose for which it was formed?

Mr. FELSHIN. I formed it. I am also the head of a firm called New Century Publishers, which publishes. But, in the course of the years, we get many orders from bookshops, libraries, universities, for books and periodicals, other than our own, and so I decided that I would set up a firm that would just not publish, but would buy and sell everybody's, any book, any pamphlet, any periodical that was salable, had a market.

Mr. WALSH. Would you tell the committee what the New Century Publishers, Inc., prints and publishes?

Mr. FELSHIN. It publishes pamphlets, books, and a magazine called *Political Affairs*.

Mr. WALSH. Now I show you this Exhibit No. 2 (statement showing ownership, management, and circulation of *Political Affairs*) and ask you to look at that and tell us whether or not that is your signature on that statement?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. FELSHIN. Yes, that is. That is the statement of ownership.

Mr. WALSH. Now according to this, the publisher [of *Political Affairs*] is New Century Publishers, Inc., and the editor is Herbert Aptheker. There is no managing editor, but the business manager is Joseph Felshin, which is you?

Mr. FELSHIN. Right.

Mr. WALSH. That is your signature?

Mr. FELSHIN. Right.

Mr. WALSH. And that is notarized before a notary public on October the 2d of 1961?

Mr. FELSHIN. That is correct.

(Document marked "Felshin Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. I show you Exhibit No. 3, and call your attention, which is *Political Affairs*, and on page 1, as a headline, it says, "Vol. XLI, No. 4, April 1962, *Political Affairs*," and then right underneath that, it states, "A Theoretical Organ of the Communist Party, U.S.A."

Of your own knowledge, do you know whether or not it is considered the theoretical organ of the Communist Party of the United States?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. FELSHIN. Starting with the March issue, I changed the masthead to this masthead, at the request of the editor. Prior to that—

Mr. WALSH. And the editor is Mr. Aptheker?

Mr. FELSHIN. Mr. Aptheker. Prior to that, the masthead was "A Political and Theoretical Magazine of Scientific Socialism."

Mr. WALSH. That is commonly known as Marxism-Leninism?

Mr. FELSHIN. I would say that is correct.

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. FELSHIN. And at the request of the editor, who indicated to me that the Communist Party wanted to change that masthead because it was having some business with the Government, I acceded to the request, and I changed it.

(Document marked "Felshin Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. Does the Communist Party of the United States have a financial interest in the New Century Publishers?

Mr. FELSHIN. None whatsoever.

Mr. WALSH. Who owns it?

Mr. FELSHIN. I do.

Mr. WALSH. Do you own all the stock?

Mr. FELSHIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. WALSH. How many shares?

Mr. FELSHIN. All of them.

Mr. WALSH. Well, how many are all?

Mr. FELSHIN. It is 20.

Mr. WALSH. Twenty. And how long have you owned all the shares?

Mr. FELSHIN. Since I formed the company, in 1944.

Mr. WALSH. And you have been president and business manager ever since?

Mr. FELSHIN. Since the beginning, yes.

Mr. WALSH. And did you hire Aptheker to be editor of *Political Affairs*?

Mr. FELSHIN. Yes sir.

Mr. WALSH. You said that you incorporated this New Century Publishers, Inc., in 1944?

Mr. FELSHIN. Yes sir, at the end of 1944.

Mr. WALSH. What was your connection with the Communist Party when you formed New Century Publishers, Inc.?

Mr. FELSHIN. I will have to take the fifth on that. I will not answer questions which might involve me with the Communist Party on the ground that it may incriminate me.

Mr. WALSH. So your answer would be the same, when you filed this statement required by the Act of August the 24th, the ownership, management, and circulation of a magazine?

Mr. FELSHIN. I don't understand the question.

Mr. WALSH. In other words, I am asking you whether or not you were a member of the Communist Party on October the 2nd, 1961.

Mr. FELSHIN. I refuse to answer that on the ground that I will have to avail myself of the protection of the fifth amendment on that.

Mr. WALSH. Now you do know David M. Freedman and Abraham Unger, do you not?

Mr. FELSHIN. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. And how long have you known them?

Mr. FELSHIN. Oh, a long time. I don't know just how long.

Mr. WALSH. Approximately?

Mr. FELSHIN. Well, Davey, how long do I know you?

Mr. FREEDMAN. Ten years, 15 years.

Mr. FELSHIN. About 10 or 15 years.

Mr. WALSH. Socially?

Mr. FELSHIN. Socially.

Mr. WALSH. And from a lawyer-client standpoint, also?

Mr. FELSHIN. That is right.

Mr. WALSH. And would the same answer refer to Mr. Unger?

Mr. FELSHIN. Yes, approximately.

Mr. WALSH. Did Mr. Freedman and Mr. Unger form the corporation for you known as the New Century Publishers, Inc., in 1944?

Mr. FELSHIN. No.

Mr. WALSH. Now, in order to get the record straight, you owned the New Century Publishers, Inc.?

Mr. FELSHIN. Right.

Mr. WALSH. You also own New Era Book & Subscription Agency?

Mr. FELSHIN. Correct.

Mr. WALSH. All of the shares?

Mr. FELSHIN. Correct.

Mr. WALSH. Now who owns Masses and Mainstream, Inc.?

Mr. FELSHIN. New Century Publishers own it; therefore, I own it.

Mr. WALSH. That is a subsidiary of the New Century Publishers, Inc.?

Mr. FELSHIN. Correct.

Mr. WALSH. Wholly owned by the New Century Publishers?

Mr. FELSHIN. Correct.

Mr. WALSH. And they publish *Masses*—they publish *Mainstream*?

Mr. FELSHIN. It is now called *Mainstream*. It used to be called *Masses and Mainstream*.

Mr. WALSH. It is now known as *Mainstream*.

Mr. FELSHIN. That is correct.

Mr. WALSH. Is that also a theoretical organ of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. FELSHIN. No, sir.

Mr. WALSH. And here in Exhibit No. 4, (Statement showing Ownership, Management, and Circulation of *Mainstream*), you classify yourself as business manager. Is that correct?

Mr. FELSHIN. Correct.

Mr. WALSH. Is there any reason that you can give the committee why you signed this as business manager when you, in fact, are the owner?

Mr. FELSHIN. No particular reason. I actually conduct the business of the magazine, so I signed as business manager.

Mr. WALSH. How long have you known Robert Forrey, F-o-r-r-e-y, the managing editor of *Mainstream*?

Mr. FELSHIN. About 2 years, a little less than 2 years.

(Document marked "Felshin Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. Are you presently a member of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. FELSHIN. Fifth amendment.

Mr. WALSH. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. TUCK. Any questions by the committee?

Mr. JOHANSEN. I would like to get the record straight, Mr. Counsel, on one point.

Did I understand the witness to testify that, on the request of the Communist Party, USA, the designation on the masthead [of *Political Affairs*] has been or is about to be changed?

Mr. WALSH. As I understood his answer, it was changed.

Mr. FELSHIN. Correct.

Mr. WALSH. Would you elaborate on that, Mr. Felshin, and who told you to change it?

Mr. FELSHIN. Well, Mr. Aptheker came to me and said he had a request from the Communist Party that the masthead be changed, and I saw no reason not to, since it was well known that the material was Marxist-Leninist material and it said on the masthead before the "Theoretical and Political Magazine of Scientific Socialism," so I agreed to change it to "Organ of the Communist Party."

Mr. JOHANSEN. And to refresh my memory, the new wording is what?

Mr. FELSHIN. I think "Organ of the Communist Party, U.S.A." Is that right?

Mr. WALSH. "The Theoretical Organ of the Communist Party, U.S.A."

Mr. FELSHIN. That is right. There it is.

Mr. WALSH. Did Mr. Aptheker tell you who in the Communist Party asked you to change that the to "Theoretical Organ of the Communist Party, U.S.A."?

Mr. FELSHIN. No, sir, and I did not ask him.

Mr. JOHANSEN. And do I understand that the record shows that you hired Mr. Aptheker as an editor?

Mr. FELSHIN. Correct.

Mr. JOHANSEN. At the time you employed him as editor, were you aware that this publication was, as it now officially proclaims, a theoretical organ of the Communist Party, USA?

Mr. FELSHIN. That is why I hired Mr. Aptheker, because he is a leading Marxist-Leninist. He is recognized as such, and he is a very able Marxist-Leninist scholar. I thought he was the best man I could get for the job.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Pardon?

Mr. FELSHIN. I thought he was the best man I could get for the job.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Does that statement that you just made equate with knowledge on your part that Mr. Aptheker is himself a member of the Communist Party, USA? Are you saying that, in other words?

Mr. FELSHIN. Well, first of all, let me say this, Mr. Johansen, that many people regard themselves as Marxist-Leninists in their philosophy, in their outlook on life, in their concept of the world, of society, and yet are not Communists in the sense that they have not joined, they don't want to be bothered.

But in regard specifically to Mr. Aptheker, I will take the fifth.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Well, is it—and I don't want to belabor the point, I just have one further question—do you regard it as at all likely that the Communist Party, USA, would accept as the editor of a theoretical organ of the Communist Party, USA a person who was not a Communist?

Mr. FELSHIN. Well, it does not seem likely. That is a matter of conjecture. You could easily make up your mind about that. It is obvious.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I have no further questions.

Mr. WALSH. I have one.

Would you say that all Communists read *Political Affairs* so that they can get the latest line of the way in which the Communist Party is going?

Mr. FELSHIN. Well, I wish that was so, but, unfortunately, it is not.

Mr. WALSH. In other words, your circulation would be bigger?

Mr. FELSHIN. It would be, if everybody read it.

Mr. WALSH. No, I did not mean everybody. I only meant the Communists.

Mr. FELSHIN. Well, I mean those who regard themselves as Marxists or are interested in Marxism. Listen, *Political Affairs* is ordered by hundreds of universities and libraries and many of your Government agencies, too.

Mr. WALSH. When Mr. Johansen was asking you whether or not you knew that Mr. Aptheker was known as a Communist—I wonder if you would be good enough to distinguish, for the committee, the differentiation between membership in the Communist Party and an affiliate of the Communist Party?

Mr. FELSHIN. I would not undertake to do that. I don't feel that I am qualified to do that. I would just give you a personal opinion, and that has no validity here.

Mr. WALSH. I have no further questions.

Mr. TUCK. Mr. Bruce?

Mr. BRUCE. Earlier, you stated that you had changed the sub-heading on the masthead at the request of Mr. Aptheker. And you also stated, as I recall, that he said it was because he was having some business with the Government.

Now would you elaborate on that?

Mr. FELSHIN. Not he, personally. He indicated that the party was having some kind of litigation regarding the labeling provisions of the McCarran Act.

Now the labeling provisions, I imagine, would pertain only to any magazine which was sort of operating under false colors or was trying to hide its views.

Now here was a magazine that carried on its masthead, a "Theoretical Magazine of Scientific Socialism."

Mr. BRUCE. But it had not stated—

Mr. FELSHIN. There is nothing wishy-washy about that. Nevertheless—let me finish, since you asked me the question—nevertheless, since it was requested, I saw no reason not to accede to it.

Mr. BRUCE. Well, what you have said then, if I am interpreting what you have said correctly, is that the Communist Party decided that the prior wording on the masthead did not comply with the law.

Mr. FELSHIN. No, no, I did not say that. I think that they felt it did comply. However—

Mr. BRUCE. But they wanted to be sure.

Mr. FELSHIN. That is right, to eliminate any doubt at all.

Mr. BRUCE. In other words, it had to be clear that it was an organ of the Communist Party?

Mr. FELSHIN. I don't know. I cannot interpret the law, but that is what they wanted, and I saw no reason not to accede. It didn't affect the circulation of the magazine any.

Mr. BRUCE. But you have said, in effect, then, that they made this transition, and clearly stated it was an organ of the Communist Party, USA, in order to be absolutely sure that they were operating within the law?

Mr. FELSHIN. Well, I cannot vouch for what was in the mind of anybody else. I know that this request came.

Mr. BRUCE. You mentioned the fear of operating under false colors.

Mr. FELSHIN. But it was not elaborated to me in such detail as you seem to be elaborating it. It merely came to me as a request because of some pressures under the McCarran Act, and I agreed. That is all, it is very simple.

Mr. JOHANSEN. In other words, you have testified that it was your understanding that the change which was requested by the Communist Party to Mr. Aptheker, and by him to you, was the upshot and result of this difficulty with the Government——

Mr. FELSHIN. It may have been. I could not say absolutely. As far as I was informed——

Mr. BRUCE. That is what you testified earlier, is it not?

Mr. FELSHIN. As far as I was informed, that was the business that raised the whole question and started it.

Mr. BRUCE. I have no further questions.

Mr. TUCK. Witness is excused.

(Witness excused.)

Mr. TUCK. The committee will now adjourn, subject to the call of the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 4:40 p.m., Thursday, May 17, 1962, the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

COMMUNIST OUTLETS FOR THE DISTRIBUTION OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

PART 1

THURSDAY, JULY 12, 1962

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10 a.m., in the Caucus Room, Old House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; William M. Tuck, of Virginia; and August E. Johansen, of Michigan.

Committee members also present: Representatives Donald C. Bruce, of Indiana, and Henry C. Schadeberg, of Wisconsin. (Appearances as noted.)

Staff members present: Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., director; John C. Walsh, cocounsel, and Donald T. Appell, investigator.

Mr. WILLIS. The subcommittee will please come to order.

Counsel, call your first witness.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Wolins.

Mr. SPEISER. Mr. Chairman, before you swear the witness, he would like to tape his own testimony. Is this permissible?

Mr. WILLIS. No; that is not permissible.

Mr. SPEISER. Very well.

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WOLINS. I swear that the testimony I am about to give will be the truth and the whole truth.

TESTIMONY OF LEROY WOLINS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, LAWRENCE SPEISER

Mr. WALSH. Would you give the committee your full name, sir?

Mr. WOLINS. My name is LeRoy Wolins.

Mr. WALSH. And where do you live?

Mr. WOLINS. 2036 North Sawyer Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Mr. WALSH. I would suggest that you take the microphone a little closer to you.

Mr. WOLINS. I'm sorry.

Mr. WALSH. And you are represented by attorney?

Mr. WOLINS. That I am.

Mr. WALSH. Will you kindly identify yourself, sir?

Mr. SPEISER. I am Lawrence Speiser, attorney with the American Civil Liberties Union, 1101 Vermont Avenue NW., Washington, D.C.

Mr. WALSH. Would you give the committee your educational background, Mr. Wolins?

Mr. WILLIS. Is that the name? Wolins?

Mr. WALSH. Wolins, W-o-l-i-n-s.

Mr. WILLIS. Spell it again.

Mr. WALSH. W-o-l-i-n-s.

Mr. WOLINS. I just received from one of the committee counsel the statement of purpose in the form of the resolution establishing this particular subcommittee——

Mr. WALSH. Would you answer my question?

Mr. WOLINS. Before I would proceed to answer any substantive questions I would like to inquire as to one point for clarification.

Mr. WILLIS. Let's get finished. You are not even our witness yet.

Mr. WOLINS. I believe I am a witness. I was sworn in, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, let's get the preliminaries first.

Mr. WOLINS. I am trying to get a clarification in order to answer the questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. What is the question pending?

Mr. WALSH. What is your educational background?

Mr. WOLINS. I am interested to know the matter of whether this is pertinent to any legislative purpose.

Now, I have before me——

Mr. WILLIS. It has been read before.

Mr. WOLINS. I have before me the statement of legislative purpose in which one word is unclear and I would like to ask some help before answering the question, and that is the legislative purpose was stated as being to inquire relating to the publishing, printing, and distribution of Communist propaganda, and I would like to know, in view of the first amendment, how the committee would define propaganda?

Mr. WILLIS. Well, that is part of the Internal Security Act already. Look at the act itself.

Mr. WOLINS. Well, I was not told to read the act before I came here, so perhaps you could give me a definition of the word "propaganda," Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. I think the resolution of the committee speaks for itself, and how propaganda will be defined beyond its present definition in the Internal Security Act of 1950 is one of the very things that we are inquiring into.

Mr. WOLINS. Since I have not been told how it is defined either by you or by the Internal Security Act of 1950, it is still unclear to me how it is defined.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. WALSH. Would you answer the last question?

What is your educational background, sir?

Mr. WOLINS. Since the legislative purpose is obviously still not clear to me and the committee seems not to be willing to make it clear to me as to what this has to do with investigating propaganda, whatever propaganda is, and as to what right this committee has to limit or abridge the right to publish anything, including propaganda,

whatever that is, I think that that question serves no stated, or even imagined, as far as I can see, legislative purpose whatsoever.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the witness proceed to answer the questions.

Mr. WOLINS. I am trying to answer the question, but I am still not able to get from the committee a definition of propaganda and how my educational background—

Mr. WILLIS. Whatever legislation is on the books has already been—

Mr. WOLINS. But I have not seen it and I am asking to see it in that case.

Mr. WILLIS. The legislation is now law. The constitutionality of it has been upheld, and one of the purposes of this hearing is a possible strengthening of Section 10 of the Internal Security Act of 1950, so I direct you to answer the question.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WOLINS. Well, in view of the apparent unwillingness or inability to give this legislative purpose, I must refuse, on that ground and also on the ground of the first amendment and the fifth amendment of the United States Constitution, to answer this question.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed with your next question.

Mr. WALSH. Have you ever read the provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950?

Mr. WOLINS. I think—

Mr. WALSH. Have you?

Mr. WOLINS. May I answer the question?

Mr. WALSH. You may answer it yes or no.

Mr. WOLINS. I got about one and a half words out before I was interrupted.

Mr. JOHANSEN. I think that is enough now. The witness just proceeds to answer and starts the argument.

Mr. WOLINS. Mr. Johansen, I am really trying.

On the ground that I feel that would serve no legislative purpose—

Mr. WILLIS. That is not an answer to the question.

Mr. WOLINS. I am trying to answer the question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. What is the question, Counselor?

Mr. WALSH. Have you ever read the provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950?

Mr. WILLIS. I order you to answer that question.

Mr. WOLINS. And I will attempt to answer it, Mr. Chairman, if I am not interrupted.

Mr. WILLIS. The question is, Have you read it? That's all the pending question.

Mr. WOLINS. My answer will have to be my answer, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WALSH. In response to the question?

Mr. WOLINS. In response to the question, of course, Mr. Counsel. The answer to the question is that the question serves no legislative intent or purpose of this committee whatever and is an infringement of my rights under the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution.

Mr. WILLIS. That is not a responsive answer.

Proceed with your next question. He has been ordered to answer it and he will not.

Mr. WOLINS. I am attempting. I have three times been interrupted.

Mr. WILLIS. The question is, Have you read the act?

Mr. WOLINS. And I am answering that this question serves no legislative purpose.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed with the next question.

Mr. WOLINS. And is violative of my rights under the first and fifth amendments, and therefore I cannot be a party to violating my rights under the Constitution and will not answer that question under those facts and amendments of the Constitution.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed with the next question.

Mr. WALSH. What is your occupation?

Mr. WOLINS. That question serves no legislative purpose whatsoever and is in violation of my rights under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. WILLIS. Those are preliminary questions and are perfectly proper, and I direct you to answer that question.

Mr. WOLINS. I repeat, Mr. Chairman, that the question serves no legislative purpose whatsoever. If there is legislative purpose, depending on the definition of propaganda here, the question also violates my rights under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution, which rights I prize very highly and shall defend completely before this committee.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Wolins, I hand to you a registration statement and ask you to look on page 8. This is the registration statement filed February 16, 1961, by David S. Canter and LeRoy Wolins on behalf of the Translation World Publishers.

Mr. WILLIS. What is the name of that outfit?

Mr. WALSH. Translation World Publishers.

Mr. WILLIS. World Publishers?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir, plural, Publishers.

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

Mr. WALSH. I ask you to look at page 8 of this photostatic copy of the registration statement filed by you and Mr. Canter and ask you whether or not that is your signature on page 8?

Mr. WOLINS. It is permissible to look at the other paper, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. WALSH. You may look at anything you care to.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WOLINS. Seeing nothing in this document to indicate the legislative purpose of asking the question, not having had propaganda yet defined to me in any way that I can understand, feeling that this violates my rights under the first and fifth amendments of the United States Constitution, I feel that I must refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. That is a registration under what law and for what purpose?

Mr. WALSH. Pursuant to section 2 of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended.

Mr. WILLIS. And the applicant in that registration statement is applying to register as what? As a foreign agent?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir, under the name of the Translation World Publishers.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me see it, Mr. Walsh?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

May I have this marked Wolins Exhibit No. 1 and filed for reference?

Mr. WILLIS. It will be so marked.

Mr. WALSH. Did you or Mr. Canter cause this registration statement, the registration number of which is 1426, to be filed with the Department of Justice?

Mr. WOLINS. The answer to that is the same as the previous question.

(Document marked "Wolins Exhibit No. 1" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. Will you tell the committee what was the purpose for which the Translation World Publishers was organized?

Mr. WOLINS. In the belief that this serves no legislative purpose, is an infringement of freedom of the press under the first amendment in which Congress has no right to legislate, and in the belief that it violates my rights under the fifth amendment of the Constitution, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. Is your foreign principal the press department of the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Washington, D.C.?

Mr. WOLINS. I don't understand the question, sir.

Mr. WALSH. I ask you whether or not—

Mr. WOLINS. Excuse me, Mr. Counsel. May I consult with my counsel?

Mr. WALSH. You may.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WALSH. Have you conferred with counsel?

Mr. WOLINS. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Now, will you answer the question?

Mr. WOLINS. I would like the question rephrased. I really did not understand it.

Mr. WALSH. I wanted to know whether or not the principal or the foreign agent which you represent was N. V. Dyakanov, Press Department, Embassy of the Soviet Union, in Washington, D.C.?

Mr. WOLINS. Well, again, seeing no legislative purpose to the question, believing it to be a definite attempt to violate the rights of the freedom of the press guaranteed by the first amendment, and also feeling it, too, violates my rights under the fifth amendment of the Constitution, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. Do you know a David S. Canter, C-a-n-t-e-r?

Mr. WOLINS. I do not see how this is pertinent to any legislative purpose and it certainly is a violation in my opinion of the right to freedom of association guaranteed by the first amendment and I believe also it violates my rights under the fifth amendment of the Constitution, and I refuse to answer that question on those grounds.

Mr. WALSH. And is he your partner in Translation World Publishers?

Mr. WOLINS. The answer to that question is obviously the same as the answer to the previous question.

Mr. WALSH. I ask you to explain to the committee the purpose for which Translation World Publishers was formed. The registration statement filed by LeRoy Wolins and David S. Canter states as follows on page 2, paragraph 7:

"State the nature and purpose of Registrant's representation of each foreign principal named under item 6," which is the Union of

the Soviet Socialist Republics; Embassy of the U.S.S.R. (Press Department) Washington, D.C., and it states:

Nature: The registrant accepted an order for \$2,400.00 worth of a geography book on behalf of its proposed subsidiary, Three-Arrow Publishers, from the principal, which book the subsidiary planned to publish but was unable to publish because of financial losses on another publishing venture of the registrant.

PURPOSE: There was no intended purpose of the registrant to represent the principal. The act which led to the requirement to register was accidental and unintended—\$2,400.00 received for a bona fide order for books was in effect lost because of financial reverses on another publishing venture, "The Trial of the U-2", described more fully below.

ACTIVITY: There was no activity of the registrant for or in the interest of the principal either intended or carried out. The other activities of the registrant with the principal consisted of purchasing rights to publish "The Trial of the U-2" and to sell the principal in a bona fide commercial transaction 1,000 copies of the above-mentioned book, "The Trial of the U-2".

Is that statement true or false?

(At this point Mr. Bruce entered the hearing room.)

Mr. WOLINS. Seeing no legislative purpose——

Mr. WALSH. In order to——

Mr. WOLINS. May I finish?

Mr. WALSH. Just a moment.

Mr. WOLINS. Surely.

Mr. WALSH. In order to save time I presume that you are going to make the same statement with reference to this, that you refuse to answer this question, as you have previously, and in order to save time, would you say, "I refuse to answer that on the same grounds," namely, the first and the fifth amendment?

Mr. WOLINS. May I consult with my counsel?

Mr. WALSH. Surely. That is your privilege at all times.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WOLINS. On advice of my counsel I am agreeable to do that

Mr. WALSH. And on the same grounds as previously stated?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds as previously stated, yes, sir.

Mr. WALSH. Translation World Publishers proposed to form a subsidiary company known as the Three-Arrow Publishers. Will you explain to the committee the purpose for which the Three-Arrow Publishers was to be formed?

Mr. WOLINS. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds as previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me ask this question.

With reference to the document that you were addressing yourself to previously, do I understand correctly that the substance of the application was the filing of it and saying, after all, he didn't want to register, or didn't have to register, or some such provision?

I am addressing that to counsel.

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir. This purportedly is the registration statement filed by this witness and by Mr. Canter who are partners under the trade name of Translation World Publishers, and this document, evidently prepared by this witness and his partner, was filed with the Department of Justice pursuant to section 2 of the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, as amended, and I am asking him whether or not——

Mr. WILLIS. And then turn right around and say they don't have to register after all, or some such thing in substance?

Mr. WALSH. As will be developed later, sir, on the same day that this was filed they also wrote a letter to the registration section of the

Department of Justice withdrawing the registration and saying that it wasn't necessary.

Mr. WILLIS. In other words, that statement there is a predicate for another line?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Now, in this Exhibit No. 1, under item 1-b you state that the Translation World Publishers published a paperbook with the title *The Trial of the U-2*. You further state that in publishing the book you were acting as an agent of the U.S.S.R. through its Embassy in Washington, D.C. Will you kindly advise the committee in detail of the negotiations between your partnership and the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Washington which led up to the publishing of this paperbook *The Trial of the U-2*.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WOLINS. On the same grounds as previously stated, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, the Chair will say this. Apparently this witness has in mind that he has a right to come before this committee and to stand mute and say absolutely nothing really on his theory, which we do not accept, of course, that this committee has no legislative purpose, and then to carry that out he invokes the privileges of the first and the fifth amendments. I can't conceive of the witness having any right——

Mr. WOLINS. That is not a correct statement of my refusal to answer the question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. You better clarify it, because thus far you have refused to give us the name, your education, or anything on the pretended reliance on constitutional provisions, but really to shield yourself or to stand on the proposition that this committee has no legislative purpose.

Mr. WOLINS. The first amendment to the Constitution, Mr. Chairman——

Mr. WILLIS. I want to say for the record that this committee does not accept that position.

Mr. WOLINS. The first amendment of the Constitution does not accept it, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. WILLIS. I have made a statement. You are not kidding me or anybody else. I want to reflect the position of the committee in the record that we do not accept the sincerity of your standing mute on pretended reliance on constitutional provisions, and I can't conceive that it is the law.

Mr. WOLINS. I stand firmly on my feeling that the first amendment of the United States Constitution says Congress shall make no law respecting an establishing of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, and I have not been given any definition of how dealing with propaganda does not abridge freedom of the press. The committee has been unable to produce any definition whatsoever.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Are you telling this committee that if you answer any of the questions that you have declined to answer, it would make you liable to criminal prosecution?

Mr. WOLINS. I do not believe I said that.

Mr. JOHANSEN. That is what you are saying when you invoke the fifth amendment.

Mr. WOLINS. I am invoking the division of powers of the United States Constitution. I am invoking the prohibition in the Constitution against Congress abridging the freedom of the press. I think that should be in the record very clearly.

Mr. WILLIS. And it is on the basis of the invocation of the first amendment that you refuse to answer?

Mr. WOLINS. It is on the basis of no legislative purpose, of the first amendment, and of the fifth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. WILLIS. Do you apprehend or fear that to answer any of the questions that have been propounded to you, including your educational background, your employment, would subject you to a criminal prosecution?

Mr. WOLINS. I refuse to be made a witness against myself as is provided under the fifth amendment of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, the only basis upon which you can invoke the fifth amendment is an honest apprehension or fear that the answer would truly make you a witness against yourself and that you would be subject to criminal prosecution. If you have no such fear or apprehension you are not properly invoking the fifth amendment, and we certainly do not accept your invocation of the first amendment or your plea that this committee has no legislative purpose, so I am making that statement for the record.

We do not accept your plea and we will see what will be done about it.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. WALSH. Now, I show you Registration Exhibit B, which was attached to the registration statement filed on February 16, 1961, with the statement which reads as follows:

1. In August, 1960, during negotiations for purchase of the publishing rights to the trial transcript for the forthcoming trial of U-2 Pilot Powers in Moscow, Registrant mentioned its decision to publish a book on Geography of the USSR. Principal indicated a desire to purchase copies of this book, and to secure this order, Registrant asked for an advance payment. Principal agreed to pay \$2,400.00 for 2,400 copies, and a check was received in the mail a few days later. Registrant failed to produce the book under the circumstances outlined in the Form FA-2 to which this Exhibit is an annex, thus breaching the agreement.

2. In September, 1960, subsequent to publication of "The Trial of the U-2", Principal, through its press department [that is the Soviet Embassy], purchased 1,000 copies of this book for \$1,000.00. A check was forwarded in the mail.

Is that factual? Is that statement factual?

Mr. WOLINS. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. May I see that paper, Mr. Walsh?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir. And I ask that it be marked Wolins Exhibit No. 2.

Mr. WILLIS. So ordered.

Mr. WALSH. With whom did you negotiate in the Soviet Embassy with reference to the printing of this booklet *The Trial of the U-2*?

Mr. WOLINS. I refuse to answer that question also on the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Wolins Exhibit No. 2" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. Will you tell the committee why the Soviet Government advanced to Translation World Publishers, a partnership composed of yourself and Mr. Canter, the sum of \$2,400?

Mr. WOLINS. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. TUCK. Now, Mr. Chairman, the witness obviously has not properly invoked the protection of the fifth amendment, and even after having been advised by you as to the proper manner in which he could invoke it he declines to do so. I would suggest—

Mr. WOLINS. Excuse me. I was told and requested by counsel of the committee—

Mr. TUCK. I ask you to order and direct the witness to answer the question.

Mr. WILLIS. I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. WOLINS. I was requested by the counsel of the committee to save time by making a statement that I refuse to answer the questions on the grounds previously stated to save restating them in those cases where I feel that such an answer is necessary. If you would like, I can fully state each time the reasons for refusing to answer. This is completely at the discretion of the committee.

Mr. WILLIS. We are in another area now. We are now in the area of my having ordered you, and you refuse to abide by the orders on the grounds previously stated. That is what it amounts to. Is that correct?

Mr. WOLINS. I hope so. My counsel seems to feel so. I am willing to accept your word.

Mr. WILLIS. It is very significant under the procedure, which is whether or not you are in contempt.

Proceed.

Mr. WOLINS. I certainly feel no contempt for this committee.

Mr. WILLIS. Pardon.

Mr. WOLINS. I certainly feel no contempt for this committee or any committee of the Congress.

Mr. WALSH. Did the Translation World Publishers do anything at all in collecting material for the publishing of the geography of the U.S.S.R.?

Mr. WOLINS. I will refuse and must refuse to answer that question for the reasons previously stated.

Mr. WALSH. Now, according to Exhibit No. 3, a short-form registration statement filed with the Department of Justice and signed by LeRoy Wolins, the registration number of which is 1426, you left the United States on August 10, 1960, visiting countries in Europe and Asia for the purpose of gathering information for potential trade publications, material for lectures, and Russian language study material for resale. Was any part of this \$2,400 that was advanced to you by the Soviet Embassy used to defray the expenses of this trip?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated, I refuse to answer that question.

(Document marked "Wolins Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. Did you actually receive \$2,400 from the Soviet Embassy?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated I refuse to answer that question, counsel.

Mr. WILLIS. Counsel, I didn't quite understand the trip. Is that pursuant to a passport?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. He obtained a passport?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. To travel somewhere?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Where did the passport say he would travel?

Mr. WALSH. Well, in the registration statement he stated that he traveled Great Britain, France, Germany, Poland, U.S.S.R., Turkey, Bulgaria, Greece, Egypt, India, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Japan.

Mr. WILLIS. Was that before he filed the application for registration?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. As a foreign agent?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. That he made the trip?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir. The trip was made on August 10, 1960.

Mr. WILLIS. Do I understand the situation to be substantially this: That he obtained a passport; made a trip to these countries, including the Soviet Union and the Iron Curtain countries; he came back and pursuant to a law of Congress filed an application to be an agent of a foreign principal?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Namely, the Soviet Union through the Embassy?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. And the obvious reason, as stated in the application itself, was that he intended to be an agent in connection with the U-2 trial and that he did publish his version of that trial. Is that correct?

Mr. WALSH. Well, sir, he left in August of 1960 and returned October 31 of 1960. This registration statement is filed February 16, 1961, and with reference to a question in the registration statement, Number 4, "All visits to or residence in foreign countries during the past 5 years," it was in response to that question that he stated that he had toured these various places together to gain information for potential trade publications, material for lectures, and Russian language study, material for resale. That was the purpose he left the United States August 10, 1960.

Mr. WILLIS. And he did publish the book?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. And sold copies to the Soviet Embassy?

Mr. WALSH. 1,000 copies.

Mr. WILLIS. And in applying to be an agent of a foreign power it was disclosed necessarily that he intended to be an agent of that foreign power and it had to do with the publication of this book? That is what it amounts to, doesn't it?

Mr. WALSH. I would say so, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. And, of course, now he stands mute. He won't answer anything because allegedly Congress has no power in a mess of this kind.

Proceed.

Mr. WALSH. Did the Soviet Union, through its Embassy here in the United States, purchase 1,000 copies of the book *The Trial of the U-2* for \$1,000?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated I will refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. And was this money paid to the Translation World Publishers in addition to the \$2,400 which you had previously received for the purpose of publishing a geography of the U.S.S.R.?

Mr. WOLINS. I will refuse to answer that question also on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WALSH. Well, has your partnership received any additional money from the Soviet Embassy in Washington in connection with the publication *The Trial of the U-2*?

Mr. WOLINS. I will refuse to answer that question also on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WALSH. Well, did you ever publish a geography of the U.S.S.R.?

Mr. WOLINS. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WALSH. Well, what did you do with the \$2,400 for the purpose of publishing a geography which was never published?

Mr. WOLINS. I refuse to answer this question also on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WALSH. Did the partnership make any restitution to the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Washington, either in cash or through services, for the \$2,400 that you had previously received?

Mr. WOLINS. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WALSH. Now, on February 16, the date that the Translation World Publishers registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, it served formal notice of the termination of the registration. Subsequent to the termination of the registration, did this partnership publish any material supplied to it by a representative of the agency of the Soviet Union?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated, I will refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. I show you Exhibit 4, which I ask to be marked and filed for reference, Mr. Chairman, and ask you, Mr. Wolins, to identify that paper and state whether or not that is your signature on it?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated, I will refuse to answer that question.

(Document marked "Wolins Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. I now show you a book, the title of which is *The Case Against General Heusinger*, which was published by the Translation World Publishers, and ask you whether or not this book was prepared by the partnership.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. Well, would you tell the committee with whom you had negotiations when this book was published by the Translation World Publishers?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. Was it anybody in the Soviet Embassy in Washington?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. Would you tell the committee where you got the translations and the documents that are contained in this book, *The Case Against General Heusinger*, published by the Translation World Publishers?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. Was any of the material contained in this book supplied to the Translation World Publishers by any person in the Soviet Embassy here in Washington?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated, I will refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. In the preparation of the book, did you collaborate with staff members of the Soviet Embassy?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated, I will refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WILLIS. Did you collaborate with any persons known to you to be Communists?

Mr. WOLINS. I will refuse to answer that question also, on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. WILLIS. With reference to the date of the application and the date of the book, which is dated first? The application, or the book?

In other words, was he an apparent registered agent before the book was published.

Mr. WALSH. He had withdrawn his registration prior to the publication of this book which we are now speaking of, *The Case Against General Heusinger*.

Mr. WILLIS. He filed the application on what date?

Mr. WALSH. He filed application to be the agent of a foreign power on February 16, 1961. They are Exhibits 1, 2, and 3.

Then, on the same date, February 16, he withdrew his application, and this book was published——

Mr. WILLIS. *The Case Against General Heusinger* was——

Mr. WALSH. Was published subsequent to the time he withdrew his registration statement.

Mr. WILLIS. And the other book, the U-2 Trial?

Mr. WALSH. *The Trial of the U-2*.

Mr. WILLIS. Was published before, or after, the filing of the application and the withdrawal?

Mr. WALSH. Prior to.

Mr. WILLIS. Prior to?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. And the trip to these foreign countries, including the Soviet Union, was prior to the filing of the application?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

Mr. WALSH. Now, I again ask you who prepared the introduction——

Mr. WILLIS. Let me say that I haven't examined the application or its withdrawal, but it is inconceivable to me that one has a right to file application because he thinks he should file in pursuant to law and that at his will willy-nilly withdraw it. If the law permits that, we better look into that, too.

In other words, he filed application to be an agent of a foreign power because he thought he was obligated to do it under the Foreign

Agents Registration Act, with which I am familiar, because one of its latest amendments, of 1950 or thereabouts, was reported out of committee by myself. Then he later on, or on the same day, just withdraws it. What kind of protection he thinks he can afford himself under these circumstances I don't know, but he is here, if he can talk about it. We welcome him to.

Mr. WALSH. My question is the introduction of the book which was evidently prepared by the publishers, Translation World Publishers. Will you tell me who prepared the introduction to *The Case Against General Heusinger*.

Mr. WOLINS. On the same grounds as previously stated, I will refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. Well, did you know that at the time this book was published all the documents and other documents not contained therein had been submitted to the State Department and rejected by the State Department? Did you know that prior to the time that you published this book?

Mr. WOLINS. On the same grounds as previously stated, I will refuse to answer that question.

Mr. JOHANSEN. To clarify the record, Mr. Counsel, submitted to the State Department by whom?

Mr. WALSH. By the Soviet Union, Embassy of the Soviet Union in Washington, D.C.

Now, did the Translation World Publishers submit the documents contained in this book for the purpose of determining whether General Heusinger occupied the position he held on the date the documents were issued or for the determination as to the authenticity of the documents that are contained in this book?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WALSH. Evidently you must have received these documents from the Soviet Union, and prior to the time that you published this book, did you submit these documents to the State Department and ask the State Department whether or not they had checked their authenticity and whether or not they were correct and true?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Wolins, according to our information a Soviet note to the State Department of the United States contained 67 documents. This document, *The Case Against General Heusinger*, contains the translation of 56 documents and does not include the original German text of 10 of these documents. Can you explain to the committee why the original German text of these 10 documents was eliminated at the time the book was printed by the Translation World Publishers?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated, I will refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. In other words, the Soviet Union had supplied to the State Department prior to the publication of *The Case Against General Heusinger*, 67 documents, whereas you only used 56 documents in your publication. Can you explain to the committee why these documents were deleted?

Mr. WOLINS. Well, it is your presumption that I used anything, but the answer to the question specifically, I will refuse to answer on the grounds specifically stated.

Mr. WALSH. In the case of document No. 7, the original document is not produced and the English translation contained in your publication, *The Case Against General Heusinger*, does not reflect that the document was actually signed, not by General Heusinger, but by Vinzenz Mueller, who was the creator of the postwar East German People's Army. Did you know that?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated, I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. WALSH. Well, this one document was prepared by Vinzenz Mueller, who was the creator of the East German People's Army. He is the one that signed it, not General Heusinger, and how does that affect General Heusinger, if it was signed by Vinzenz Mueller?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated, I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. WALSH. Well, how many copies of *The Case Against General Heusinger* were delivered to any individuals representing agencies of the Soviet Union?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated, I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. WALSH. Will you tell me how you were compensated for publishing this book, *The Case Against General Heusinger*?

Mr. WOLINS. Again it is your assumption that I published it, but on the grounds previously stated, I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. WALSH. According to the book it was published by the Translation World Publishers and according to the documents 1, 2, 3 and 4 in evidence LeRoy Wolins and David S. Canter were the partnership, according to the documents which you and your partner filed with the Department of Justice. That is my assumption. Had you broken up your partnership with Mr. Canter when this book, *The Case Against General Heusinger*, was published?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated, I will refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. Are you still a partner of Mr. Canter in the Translation World Publishers?

Mr. WOLINS. For the same reasons I will refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. I shall hand you now an envelope addressed to McLellan Smith, National Press Building, Washington, D.C., with the return address of the Translation World Publishers, postmarked Chicago, January 30, 1962, which contained a copy of the book *The Case Against General Heusinger* and a press release, and I ask you who stood the expense of this mailing?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. WALSH. Is your answer the same with reference to the press release?

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. WOLINS. I would say that on the grounds previously stated, I will refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. May I have these two documents, the envelope and the press release, marked Wolins Exhibits Nos. 5 and 6 respectively for reference by the committee?

Mr. WILLIS. Let them be so marked.

(Documents marked "Wolins Exhibits Nos. 5 and 6" and retained in committee files.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WALSH. Was this envelope which I showed you a part of the general mailing to the Washington press corps?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated, I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. Well, did you mail to any person unsolicited copies of this book?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated I refuse to answer this question.

Mr. WALSH. Now, Mr. Wolins, you were a witness before this committee on February 3, 1960. At that time you invoked the constitutional protection of the first and fifth amendments in refusing to identify to the committee your occupation. I now hand you the short-form registration filed February 16, 1961, and ask you if the information contained thereon, to the effect that you were on the date a clerical employee of Cross World Books and Periodicals and that previously you held the position of assistant manager, is factual?

Mr. WOLINS. Which paragraph did you say?

Mr. WALSH. Give it back to me and I will show it to you.

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated I will refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. Now, I show you Wolins Exhibit No. 7 and ask you whether or not that is your signature on page 3? This was filed on March 3, 1960 in connection with a registration by "Rose Rose Doing Business as Cross World Books and Periodicals," and I ask you whether or not that is your signature on page 3?

Mr. WILLIS. What is the date of that document?

Mr. WALSH. That is March 3, 1960.

Mr. WILLIS. That is an application for a registration under the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Is that the same Cross World that we heard about yesterday?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. That was taken over by Levy and Svenchansky?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, and under the general managership of Mr. Lotsman, and this is the Cross World Books and Periodicals. Is that your signature on page 3 of Exhibit 8 which I now hand you?

Mr. WOLINS. You have already handed it to me and I have looked at it.

Mr. WALSH. I handed you 7. This is another.

Mr. WOLINS. Then I haven't answered the question that is pending.

Mr. WALSH. You have answered the question.

Mr. WOLINS. I do not believe so. You may read the notes of the stenographer.

Mr. WALSH. Will you answer it now if you haven't answered it before?

Mr. WOLINS. Could you check the record? If I have——

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WOLINS. We are dealing with Exhibit 7, as I understand it?

Mr. WALSH. Seven first.

Mr. WOLINS. And I have not answered if it was my signature on page 3 of the document?

Mr. WALSH. That is correct.

Mr. WOLINS. I refuse to answer on the grounds previously stated. (Document marked "Wolins Exhibit No. 7" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. I show you a short-form of the registration of the Cross World Books and Periodicals filed June 16, 1960, and ask you if that is your signature on page 3?

And may this be marked Wolins Exhibit No. 8?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WILLIS. So ordered. As to the previous document referred to which you said was an application for registration under the Foreign Agents Registration Act, who was the foreign agent in that instance? The Soviet Embassy, just like the previous one?

Mr. WALSH. No; that is MezKniga. That is the International Book Company in Moscow.

Mr. WILLIS. Moscow?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. And this witness signed that application in what capacity? Let me put it this way. The applicant was whom?

Mr. WALSH. The applicant was the Cross World Books and Periodicals and Mr. Wolins evidently signed as an employee and assistant manager.

Mr. WILLIS. Who is named in there as the owner?

Mr. WALSH. Rose Rose.

Mr. WILLIS. Rose Rose?

Mr. WALSH. She was the owner of this Cross World Books and Periodicals prior to the time that Mr. Lotsman came in.

Mr. WILLIS. In any event, this witness signed this application on behalf of the applicant?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Wolins, when you appeared——

Mr. WOLINS. I believe there is a question pending.

Mr. WALSH. I asked you whether or not you identify your signature on——

Mr. WOLINS. You asked me and I did not have time to answer it.

Mr. WALSH. Well, will you please answer it now?

Mr. WOLINS. The answer is that I refuse to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Wolins Exhibit No. 8" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. WALSH. I had presumed that that was your answer because I had heard it so many times before.

Mr. Wolins, when you appeared before this committee on February 3, 1960, you were asked whether or not you had prior to the time solicited or received funds from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C.

Mr. WILLIS. Louder, please.

He was asked whether he had received funds from whom?

Mr. WALSH. You were asked whether or not you had prior to the time solicited or received funds from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C. At that time you refused to answer seeking protection

under the fifth and first amendments of the Constitution. In light of the fact that you, in your registration statement filed as coowner of the Translation World Publishers, acknowledged that you had received \$2,400 from the Soviet Embassy, I will now ask you to detail for the committee all moneys received by you from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., or any Soviet agency during the last five years?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated I will refuse to answer the question.

Mr. WALSH. Did they subsidize all the trips that you have taken to the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, and Poland?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated I refuse to answer.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Wolins, are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. WOLINS. On the grounds previously stated I will refuse to answer that question.

Mr. WALSH. I see no further need for questioning this witness, Mr. Chairman. I therefore ask that he be excused, unless you have questions.

Mr. WILLIS. I have no questions.

Mr. JOHANSEN. No questions.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. I have nothing.

Mr. BRUCE. No.

Mr. WILLIS. You are excused.

Call your next witness, counsel.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Canter.

Mr. WILLIS. Please raise your right hand.

Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. CANTER. I do.

Mr. WILLIS. What is his name?

Mr. WALSH. David S. Canter.

TESTIMONY OF DAVID SIMON CANTER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, GEORGE B. KLEINDORFER

Mr. WALSH. Will you give the committee your full name, sir, and where you live.

Mr. CANTER. David Simon Canter, spelled D-a-v-i-d, Simon spelled S-i-m-o-n, Canter spelled C-a-n-t-e-r, and I reside at 4730 South Kimbark Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois. Kimbark Avenue is spelled K-i-m-b-a-r-k.

Mr. WALSH. You are represented by counsel, I notice.

Mr. CANTER. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Would you please identify yourself.

Mr. KLEINDORFER. Certainly, sir. My name is George B. Kleindorfer, 1869 Mintwood Place NW., Washington, D.C. I am a member of the Bar of the District of Columbia, and I am appearing here at the request of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Canter, would you give the committee your educational background?

Mr. CANTER. I am very happy to answer this question. My answer to this question is, I must respectfully decline to answer this question for the following eight legal reasons:

Legal reason No. 1. The mandate of this committee prohibits this committee from inquiring into any legislative area where it cannot legislate. The mandate of this committee prohibits this committee from legislating into an area prohibited by amendment No. 1 to the Constitution of the United States.

Legal reason No. 2. The mandate of this committee and its legislative purpose is so broad and so all-inclusive, as Mr. Justice Douglas has stated, that there cannot be any pertinence in this particular legislative purpose as far as the area of free press is concerned.

Legal reason No. 3. The hearing today, as well as the line of inquiry that has been presented in the first part of this session, has been of such a nature as to violate the separation of powers clause in the Constitution of the United States. This means, in my own personal opinion of course, that this committee hearing has invaded the coordinate branches of government in that it is a prosecuting as well as a judicial function.

Legal reason No. 4. Amendment number five of the Constitution of the United States prohibits a witness from being compelled to testify against himself. If there are any violations of any laws of the United States of America, if there are any indications of conspiracies or any crimes that have been committed, such information, such violations, shall be prosecuted by the executive branch of the Government in its proper functions, as well as the judicial branch of the Government, and not by a Congress, and, further, that such information shall be independent of any person's testimony against himself.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Legal reason No. 5. The sixth amendment to the Constitution of the United States grants a person the right of counsel, grants a person to be informed of the nature and the source of the various charges against him, grants him the right of cross-examination. When I was summoned here I was summoned here by a cryptic form of a subpoena which did not inform me why I was summoned here. It did not enable me to give any time to prepare any kind of information, I knew not whatsoever what the purpose was, and yesterday, before I was summoned, of course, before I was a witness, I asked for a copy of the legislative purpose. I was denied such copy and only 5 minutes before this particular hearing opened was I given what the legislative purpose of this hearing was. If, gentlemen, this committee is to perform what it feels its proper function, the least it can do is inform the witnesses of the charges, of the nature of the charges, against him. I want the record to show, with the permission, of course, of the counsel of the committee, that the original subpoena, dated on the 22d day of June in the year of our Lord 1962, issued a summons to David S. Canter, Translation World Publishers, and there was no matter whatsoever with respect to the nature of any charges, or any documents, or any type of provision whatsoever. This I contend in my personal opinion violates amendment six to the Constitution of the United States of America.

Mr. WALSH. What is the last statement on the bottom of the subpoena?

Mr. CANTER. Is the committee asking me—

Mr. WALSH. Read it into the record, will you.

Mr. CANTER. Is the committee asking me a question?

Mr. WALSH. I am asking you to read in the record—you have already started to read part of the subpoena——

Mr. CANTER. Does the committee realize I have not finished my legal reasons. I will be allowed to continue?

Mr. WALSH. As long as we are on the subpoena and it will be more continuous——

Mr. CANTER. Provided I am allowed to continue my legal reasons.

Mr. WALSH. I have not interrupted you as yet. All I asked you to do was read the last paragraph on the subpoena as long as you are talking about the subpoena, the footnote.

Mr. CANTER. I will be happy to cooperate with the committee providing I have my rights to answer questions and not be interrupted. It states here: "If you desire a conference with a representative of the Committee prior to the date of the hearing, please call or write to: Staff Director, Committee on Un-American Activities, Washington 25, D.C., Telephone: Capital 4-3121—Ext. 3051."

Mr. WALSH. Now, continue with your legal reasons.

Mr. CANTER. Thank you very much.

Legal reason No. 6. The reason why I feel that my Constitutional rights are being invaded is because Rule 11 setting up the existence of this committee is so broad and so all-inclusive as to be violative of the due process clause of the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Legal reason No. 7. The composition of this committee in my personal opinion is illegal because it contravenes Section No. 2 of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

And, finally, my legal reason No. 8 is that this entire inquiry, as well as the nature of the specific question, has in effect violated the amendment No. 1 to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. WILLIS. Let me say this. Have you completed your reasons for not telling us about your educational background?

Mr. CANTER. Yes, sir. I thought I had completed all my eight legal reasons.

Mr. WILLIS. And you specified your reasons for not answering a question which sought from you an explanation of your educational background. Is that it, counsel?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. First, let me say that the Chair does not accept your reasons and the Department of Justice and the courts will have to decide it. We are not the courts here. Some of your reasons are so outlandish that I will not dignify them with an answer, but I might mention this. You labor the point that this committee has no legislative purpose. I call your attention to the fact that this committee, during the period of 1941 to 1960, as I recall, made 96 separate legislative recommendations. Congress adopted 35 of them, and the executive departments have embodied 13 by administrative actions. During the present Congress, to date, five bills were enacted into law and three bills were passed by the House based upon this committee's recommendations. I think that the invocation of all these beautiful provisions of the Constitution under which we live is not sincerely invoked. I simply say that we do not accept your objections and I, therefore, now order you, as a basis for possible contempt proceedings, to answer the pending question.

Mr. CANTER. Is the chairman ordering me to answer this question No. 2 with respect to educational background?

Mr. WILLIS. That is right.

Mr. CANTER. I am more than happy to answer the question of the committee as directed by counsel. My answer to that question is as I have previously stated and my legal reasons for doing so.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed, then.

Mr. WALSH. Will you also tell the committee what work or what your occupation is at the present time?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. CANTER. I am more than happy to answer the question of the counsel.

Mr. JOHANSEN. Mr. Chairman, let me interrupt at this point. In view of the fact that that statement is preceded by his refusal to answer on constitutional grounds, I suggest that you dispense with it and respond simply to the question.

Mr. CANTER. With respect to the question just directed at me, question No. 3, I must respectfully decline to answer on the grounds previously stated in the answer to the previous question.

Mr. WILLIS. Did that have to do with occupation?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. I order and direct you to answer that question.

Mr. CANTER. Is the chairman of the committee directing me to answer a question with respect to occupation?

Mr. WILLIS. That is right.

Mr. CANTER. I must, as I have stated before, respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that I have previously stated in the answer to your previous question No. 2.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Canter, I show you Wolins Exhibit No. 1 and direct your attention to page 8. This is a registration statement filed by the Translation World Publishers and I ask you whether or not that is your signature on page 8 of the registration statement.

Mr. WILLIS. And that is an application filed with the Department of Justice to register as an agent of a foreign principal?

Mr. WALSH. That is correct, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. Under the provisions of the Foreign Agents Registration Act?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir, of 1938, as amended.

Mr. WILLIS. And one of the latest amendments was reported out by myself so I am quite familiar with it, so proceed.

Mr. CANTER. Do I understand the counsel's question correctly, that he is asking me only to identify the signature?

Mr. WALSH. Is that your signature and will you please identify it as such?

Mr. CANTER. Only the signature and not the contents of the document?

Mr. WALSH. That is correct.

Mr. CANTER. I am more than happy to answer the question of counsel.

Mr. WILLIS. You mean you would be more than happy not to answer it?

Mr. CANTER. My answer is I must respectfully decline to answer on the previous grounds stated in answer to your question No. 2.

Mr. WALSH. Well, did you execute that document on February 13, 1961?

Mr. CANTER. My answer to your question No. 4 is the same as the answer to your question No. 2 and on the same legal grounds.

Mr. WILLIS. Are you fearful or apprehensive that if you answered that question you would be subjected to possible criminal prosecution? And I am being objective for the sake of the record. I am laying the foundation to determine whether or not the invocation of the fifth amendment is a sincere and bona fide one.

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. CANTER. I have already, Mr. Chairman, stated my reasons for declining to answer the second question, the third question, and the fourth question, and fifth question. My answer to you in your question, that is, committee question No. 6, is the same as I have answered question No. 2.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, of course, one has a right for real reasons to invoke the protection of the fifth amendment, and this committee concedes that; but I do not accept the sincerity or propriety of your invocation in this instance because you will not answer the question as to whether the invocation is based upon fear or apprehension of getting you into trouble, let us say, or subject you to criminal prosecution.

Proceed. I am just making that for the record.

Mr. WALSH. According to Wolins Exhibit No. 1, previously introduced, which is the registration statement filed by the Translation World Publishers with the Department of Justice pursuant to a law, it states here under 1(d) "Name of"——

Mr. WILLIS. Is that the same document you referred to a while ago?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir. "Name of person or persons in charge of principal office. David S. Canter & LeRoy Wolins." Is that you that is mentioned as David S. Canter on Wolins Exhibit No. 1?

(Witness handed document.)

Mr. CANTER. Counsel mentioned 1(d)? Was that the question?

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. CANTER. My answer to your question No. 7, Mr. Counsel, is the same as I have given to you in question No. 2 and the legal grounds therefor.

Mr. WALSH. You were in this Caucus Room and heard all of the questions which I propounded to LeRoy Wolins, were you not?

Mr. CANTER. I was present in the Caucus Room when a previous witness appeared upon the stand and was asked various questions.

Mr. WALSH. Did you hear those questions?

Mr. CANTER. Provided my answer would not waive any of the previous rights which I have claimed in my answer to question No. 2.

Mr. WALSH. But you were present when those questions were asked?

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is, as I have previously answered.

Mr. WILLIS. He said he was present without waiving any of his rights, so for once he has answered.

Mr. WALSH. Now, I propose to ask you, in order to get the background of the Translation World Publishers and its various functions in the publishing business, the same as I asked Mr. Wolins.

(At this point Mr. Tuck left hearing room.)

Mr. WILLIS. Before you come to that, Counsel, this document you questioned him about was the registration of Cross World?

Mr. WALSH. Translation World Publishers.

Mr. WILLIS. Not Cross World?

Mr. WALSH. No.

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

Mr. WALSH. I will withdraw that question and reframe it. You stated that you were present when the previous witness testified in this Caucus Room today. He immediately preceded you. His name was LeRoy Wolins. Now, I propose to ask you the same questions with reference to the Translation World Publishers as I asked him. And will you tell the committee whether or not you will persist in claiming the alleged reasons that you have previously stated and that you will refuse to answer all the questions that I propose to ask you at this time?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. CANTER. My answer to your previous question is that I cannot; in my answer to that last question, make a general refusal to answer all questions of the committee because—

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed, counsel.

Mr. CANTER.—it indicates contempt. I do not intend to do that. The answer is that, on each and every specific question, I want to consult with my counsel and answer it in the way I have; and I have not, and if I have, the committee has misunderstood me—I do not intend a general refusal to all questions. Questions may be, in my opinion and in consultation with my counsel, perfectly valid questions. Then I will answer, but if the committee feels that I am in general contempt of the committee, that is a different story. I am not and I insist that I am not. My question is each and every specific question.

Mr. WILLIS. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. CANTER. I hope that that answers your question.

Mr. WALSH. What association did you have with LeRoy Wolins prior to the creation of the Translation World Publishers?

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same as I have answered question No. 2, in answer to your question No. 2, and with the legal grounds associated therewith.

Mr. WALSH. What books, pamphlets, et cetera, other than *The Trial of the U-2* and *The Case Against General Heusinger*, did the Translation World Publishers publish?

Mr. CANTER. My answer to this question is the same as I have answered previously with the legal grounds therefor.

Mr. WALSH. Now, I show you Exhibit B, which is an exhibit attached to the registration statement (previously introduced as Wolins Exhibit No. 2), which sets forth that, prior to Power's trial, negotiations were started in August of 1960 to receive and print the trial transcript of the U-2. Who instituted these negotiations, and with whom, in order to get the transcript?

Mr. CANTER. Are you showing me this document?

Mr. WALSH. That is a statement that was made.

(Witness handed document.)

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. CANTER. My answer to the pending question is the same answer that I have given in answer to your question No. 2 and the legal grounds therefor.

Mr. WALSH. What money had the Translation World Publishers received from the Soviet Government through the Embassy in Washington, D.C., prior to the receipt of the trial transcript?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. CANTER. Could you be so kind as to repeat the question? I am not sure I understand it.

Mr. WALSH. With whom did you have negotiations for the printing of the trial transcript of the U-2 incident?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same as my answer to your question No. 2 and the legal grounds cited therefor.

Mr. WALSH. And did you receive any money from the Soviet Government prior to your publishing this pamphlet, *The Trial of the U-2*?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same answer as I have given to your question No. 2 and the legal grounds cited therefor.

Mr. WALSH. Well, in Exhibit B (Wolins Exhibit No. 2), it is stated that you received from the Soviet Embassy in Washington the sum of \$2,400, which was allegedly advance payment for 2,400 copies of a *Geography of the USSR*, which the Translation World Publishers was to produce and publish. Was this the real purpose for which the money was received?

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same answer I have given to you in response to your question No. 2 and the legal ground cited therefor.

Mr. WALSH. How did the individuals, the partners in the Translation World Publishers, use this \$2,400?

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same answer as I have previously given the committee in response to its question No. 2 and the legal ground cited therefor.

Mr. WILLIS. Counsel, do we have evidence that he procured a passport and made a trip to the same or other countries as the previous witness did?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. WALSH. We have a registration statement, a short-form, which was signed by David S. Canter, and on December 27, 1959, he left this country and visited, according to the statement, England, Holland, Belgium, France, and Switzerland, and the purpose was to set up an automobile importing business, and also in the summer of 1959 he was up in Canada on a vacation, according to this registration statement.

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

Mr. WALSH. Did the Translation World Publishers ever receive additional money, other than the \$2,400 I just asked you about, from any Soviet representative?

(Witness conferred with counsel.)

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same as I have given in answer to your question No. 2 and the legal grounds therefor.

Mr. WALSH. According to the record this committee has, it shows you, the Translation World Publishers, did receive \$3,400 from the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., and for which you allegedly delivered to them 1,000 copies of the booklet *The Trial of the U-2*. Is that correct?

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same answer as I have given in response to your question No. 2 and the legal ground cited therefor.

Mr. WALSH. On the same date that the Translation World Publishers filed under the Foreign Agents Registration Act the fact that they were the agent for a foreign power, you also filed on the same day a notice of the termination of the registration. Is that correct? (Wolins Exhibit No. 4.)

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same as I have given in response to your question No. 2 and the legal grounds cited therefor.

Mr. WALSH. Now, has the Translation World Publishers engaged in any activity on behalf of the Soviet Government since February 13, 1961?

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same as I have given in response to your question No. 2 and the legal grounds cited therefor.

Mr. WALSH. I show you a paper-back booklet entitled *The Case Against General Heusinger*, and it was printed by the Translation World Publishers. Will you tell the committee with whom Translation World Publishers negotiated for the documents and the translations contained in this booklet?

(Witness handed booklet.)

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same as I have given in response to your question No. 2 and the legal reasons cited therefor.

Mr. WALSH. Will you look at that booklet and look at the introduction and tell the committee who prepared the introduction?

Mr. CANTER. Counsel has reference to the introductions on pages i to v, this Roman numeral i to v.

Mr. WALSH. I would say so, yes.

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same as I have given in answer to your question No. 2 and the legal reasons cited therefor.

Mr. WALSH. Were copies of this booklet transmitted by the Translation World Publishers to the Soviet Government or to the Soviet Embassy here in Washington?

Mr. CANTER. I am not too sure I understand the question. Copies of the book of this? You are talking about this *Case Against General Heusinger*?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same as I have answered your previous question No. 2 and the legal reasons cited therefor.

Mr. WALSH. Did you receive any money or compensation from any Soviet representative or the Soviet Embassy for the purchase of *The Case Against General Heusinger*?

Mr. CANTER. Counsel has asked me whether I have received any money—

Mr. WALSH. I will withdraw that question.

Mr. CANTER. For the purchase of that book?

Mr. WALSH. Yes.

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same as I have answered question No. 2 and the legal reasons cited therefor.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, did you receive any money in connection with its publication?

Mr. CANTER. I thank the committee chairman. That is what I was thinking of really in answer to that question.

Mr. WILLIS. I do not think you answered my question.

Mr. CANTER. Oh, counsel is asking me a question. Oh, I'm sorry. My answer to counsel's question is, if I understood it, whether I have received any money from any Soviet Embassy or anyone in Moscow for the publication of this book. Is that my understanding of that question?

Mr. WILLIS. Well, he asked "for the purchase." I asked you, "with its publication." It is a different question.

Mr. CANTER. Thank you very much for clarifying the question, Mr. Chairman. My answer to that question is the same as I have answered in response to your question No. 2 and the legal reasons cited therefor.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Canter, have you ever had any formal affiliation with the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same as I have answered to your previous question No. 2 and the legal reasons cited therefor.

Mr. WALSH. Do you know a Carl Nelson of Chicago?

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same as I have previously answered to your question No. 2, and the legal reasons cited therefor.

Mr. WALSH. Well, Mr. Nelson, Carl Nelson, appeared before this committee and identified himself as a member of the Communist Party. Did you know that Carl Nelson was a member of the Communist Party at any time?

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same as I have answered your previous question No. 2 and the legal reasons cited therefor.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Nelson told this committee that he knew you to be a member of the Communist Party. Is that true or false?

Mr. WILLIS. And that statement was under oath?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIS. All right.

Mr. WALSH. Was he telling the truth when he stated under oath that he knew you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same as I have answered in response to your question No. 2 and the legal reasons cited therefor.

Mr. WILLIS. Well, are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. CANTER. My answer to that question is the same as I have previously stated in response to your question No. 2 and the legal reasons cited therefor.

Mr. WALSH. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JOHANSEN. No questions.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make an observation. I believe that this witness in his preliminary statement has stated as good a case for the existence of this committee as I have heard. He stated that the executive branch has the power of prosecution for criminal acts and violations of law. For a matter of record, I think it is very obvious that under our system of Government it is the prerogative of the United States to establish the laws by which the executive branch can determine what is a criminal act. It is the function of this committee to recommend to the Congress legislation in the interest of the internal security. The committee conducts investigations and hearings to determine the need for this law in order that the executive branch might have the authority to act. The executive branch must operate under legal authority, and that legal authority is provided by the Congress, so I think the witness has stated a very excellent case for the existence and perpetuation of this committee.

Mr. WILLIS. I could not put it more forcefully and more clearly. Is that the last witness?

Mr. WALSH. Yes, sir; he is the last witness.

Mr. WILLIS. The Chair would like to say this in addition to what I have already said about the position of this committee in respect to the attitude of this witness: It is perfectly obvious to me, and we will have to discuss it in executive session of course, that the publication of the book *The Case Against General Heusinger*, by Translation World Publishers is a clear case of violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act and it will be my recommendation that this case be presented to the Department of Justice and that the record be sent there for consideration of prosecution.

The committee will stand in recess subsequent to the call of the Chair.

Mr. CANTER. Does this mean that the witness has been dismissed?

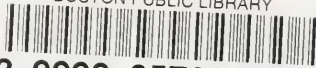
Mr. WILLIS. You are excused.

Mr. CANTER. Thank you.

(Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., Thursday, July 12, 1962, the hearings in the above-entitled matter were recessed, subject to the call of the Chair.)



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